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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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18 November 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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REPORT ON 'PACEM IN TERRIS' MEETING

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 83 p 2

[Unattributed article: "For a Peaceful Future"]

[Text] Banska Bystrica, 4 Oct (CTK)—Banska Bystrica was the seat of an extended session of the Federal Committee of the Catholic clergy association "Pacem in terris" in the CSSR, held on Tuesday. The committee reviewed the conclusions of the World Congregation for Peace and Life Against Nuclear War. Present at the proceedings were Miroslav Valek, minister of culture of the SSR, a delegation of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee (CSMV) and other guests.

Prelate ThDr Antonin Vesely, chairman of the Catholic clergy association "Pacem in terris" in the CSSR, opened the session, in which 300 Catholic clergymen with their ordinaries participated. He emphasized that the session was taking place in the spirit of the SNP [Slovak National Uprising], whose permanent legacy also obliges clergymen to work hard for the prosperity of our socialist fatherland, and for peace in the entire world.

Next, the session participants were addressed by Jan Pikula, chairman of the Central Slovakian KNV [Regional National Committee].

The bishop of Banska Bystrica, ThDr Jozef Feranec, pointed out that life in peace represents the value of values which has to be fought for by laymen and clergymen together. The whole world is struggling to keep universal peace, and only by unification of pacifist powers can mankind be extricated from the bondage of nuclear arms.

Minister Miroslav Valek spoke to the Catholic clergymen on behalf of the government authorities of the CSSR and the SSR. In the introduction to his presentation he discussed the present international situation. He pointed out the activation of the aggressive powers of imperialism, which are exposing mankind to the danger of nuclear catastrophe. He emphasized the pacifist policy of the USSR and of other socialist countries, striving for peaceful coexistence, release of tension, for stoppage and reduction of armament, and for disarmament. In this connection he

emphasized the significance and purpose of the World Congregation in Prague, pointing out that we are fully aware of the fact that in the future of our planet there is this alternative: peace or war, cooperation or confrontation, development or catastrophic destruction. This alternative of the worldwide development is reflected in every respect also in the policy of the KSC [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], in the policy of our country.

In the next part of his presentation Miroslav Valek stated the following: Our state representatives highly appreciate the fact that all churches and religious associations in the CSSR, as well as other citizens of our fatherland, have supported the World Congregation in Prague politically, economically and morally. It is known that the activity of the Roman Catholic Church involving the proceedings of the World Congregation was appreciated also by the boards of ordinaries of the CSR and the SSR. In its last session the Slovak Board of Ordinaries brought out the cooperation of all churches, and expressed hope that they would keep gathering to discuss the questions of further pacifist activities. We are pleased that the pacifist work of the Czechoslovak clergy, especially that of the Catholic clergy association "Pacem in terris" and that of the regional committee of the Christian Peace Conference, were given high appreciation from the participants of the World Peace Congregation. According to our opinion, in the future both laymen and religious authorities will have a great opportunity to implement the conclusions of the World Congregation as a significant stone in building the vault of present-day struggles for the issue of peace. It is the task of today to introduce the adopted conclusions into all parts of the church life, into concrete plans of the Catholic clergy association "Pacem in terris" and those of the Christian Peace Conference regional committee, into the ecclesiastical press, into the conscience of every clergyman, and into his spiritual activities.

In concluding his presentation, Miroslav Valek emphasized that "Peacem in terris" was an incarnation and expression of the Catholic clergymen's peace-loving efforts, and that in the present conditions of world development this task and function of "Pacem in terris" has even multiplied. An affiliation with "Pacem in terris" is a criterion of responsibility for the future of nations in our country, a criterion of service to people, their interests and prospects.

Jozef Svirec, head of the CSMV [The Czechoslovak Peace Committee] and vice chairman of the Slovak Peace Council, in his speech expressed thanks to the present representatives of the Czechoslovak Catholic Association for their active preparation of, and participation in, the World Congregation, as well as his conviction that our socialist society would keep drawing benefits from mutual cooperation.

From the concluding presentation of ThDr Zdenek Adler, central secretary of the federal committee of the Catholic clergy association "Pacem in terris,"

it followed that Czech and Slovak clergymen feel the necessity of being fully engaged in the development and well-being of their people. As citizens of a socialist homeland, they consider it their duty to support creative efforts and be fully engaged in striving for worldwide peace, in agreement with the conclusions of the World Congregation for Peace and Life Against Nuclear War. He emphasized that Catholic clergymen in the CSSR have comprehended the appeal of the Prague World Congregation as a call for joint pacifist work, and that they will endeavor to fulfill this urgent task in their missions also in the coming period.

9910

CSO: 2400/39

MINISTER OF JUSTICE REPORTS ON AMNESTY ACT

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Sep 83 p 2

/Summary of speech by Minister of Justice S. Zawadzki/

/Text/ Humanitarian as well as political premises are responsible for the Amnesty Act of 21 July 1983. These premises aim at overcoming society's existing divisions and removing the obstacles on the road to a national consensus in the name of a further normalization process.

We need to recall that a decree on the abolition of martial law of 13 December 1981 accompanied the State Council's imposition of martial law.

About 10,100 people have taken advantage of the amnesty act, including 800 criminal offenders acting for political reasons.

In the period after 13 December 1981, opposition to martial law increased; in addition to typical political crimes such as continued activity in associations, unions and organizations whose activities had been suspended, the organization or direction of strikes or other protest actions, and the distribution of leaflets, there were crimes committed against the legal order and public safety.

Such acts, as well as simple common crimes, were pursued with total persistence.

- > The policy of punishment with regard to these crimes was not dictated by the idea of retaliation. It was characterized by individual responsibility depending on the magnitude of the specific crime, the role of the offenders and the motive which guided them. Finally, it depended on the consequences of the committed acts.

In order to properly understand the implementation of the amnesty resolution, it is necessary to take into account the results of the State Council's resolution of 20 December 1982 concerning the special procedure of dealing with individuals sentenced for political crimes. This resolution was also a factor in the decision to suspend martial law. By applying this resolution, the State Council pardoned 693 sentenced individuals. The council later refused to pardon 128 offenders. Seventy-three sentenced offenders were also not pardoned because they had committed political crimes.



The cited resolution of the State Council and the court decisions concerning early release and suspension of sentences, which had been dictated by humanitarian considerations, resulted in a majority of individuals sentenced for political crimes being released. Before the passage of the amnesty act, there were 190 prisoners sentenced for political crimes and another 450 offenders arrested on suspicion of having committed political crimes.

From the perspective of the aims of the amnesty act, the real benefit of the resolution was in the remission or commutation of sentences for politically motivated crimes, as well as in the remission of complicity in such crimes in connection with the prognosis that the sentence, which was supposed to have been pronounced, would be remitted.

The benefits of the amnesty in this form up to 20 September of this year were enjoyed by 1,427 individuals accused of having committed political crimes. This meant that a large group of people either already sentenced or under arrest could return to normal life, thus enabling a simultaneous resumption of labor activity.

In the group of 1,427 who received amnesty:

--533 offenders sentenced had their sentences remitted;

--criminal proceedings against 797 perpetrators of political crimes were discontinued;

--97 sentenced individuals had their sentences cut by one-half if the sentence was to have been greater than 3 years.

Also belonging to this group of 1,427 sentenced and arrested individuals who had been affected by the amnesty act are an additional 1,138 perpetrators of political excesses which were dealt with by article 8 of the act. These people were totally pardoned and the corresponding entries were removed from the individuals' records.

It is also necessary to take into account the military courts which granted amnesty to 196 perpetrators of crimes associated with militarization, including 173 sentenced individuals having their sentences remitted and 23 individuals having proceedings against them dropped. All this envisioned that the punishment leveled would not exceed 3 years of incarceration or that these 3 years would be suspended.

Of the 640 perpetrators of political crimes being held in prison and detention centers before 22 July 1983, 557 were released as a direct result of the amnesty.

There were 83 people still incarcerated on 24 September 1983; these included 41 who had already had their sentences reduced and another 30 who were not covered by the amnesty. The 12 people were arrestees against whom criminal proceedings are ongoing but who will still be covered by the amnesty once judgment is passed.

Another particularly important political aspect of the amnesty act is the implementation of article 2 of the act which allows offenders an opportunity to free themselves of criminal responsibility if they reveal actual criminal activity elsewhere.

By 28 September of this year, despite the underground's propaganda appeals to keep from surfacing and the attempts to turn public opinion against those trying to return to the order of normal life, 327 people have already turned themselves in to the prosecution agencies. Then additional people have surrendered themselves to Polish diplomatic and consular agencies.

Characteristic of all this activity is the statement made several days ago by Jozef Zbigniew Belz, a leader of the Gorzow underground and former member of the Presidium of the National Audit Commission of Solidarity. He made the point in a pronouncement that the Polish Sejm's decision on the suspension of martial law, and the amnesty proclamation pardoning crimes committed despite martial law regulations, were the basis for extracting the country from the deep political crisis which has been affecting it for months.

In declaring a cessation of underground activities, he stated that he considered further such activity to be pointless and harmful to the interests of the state.

One should keep in mind that the decision to give up underground activity by those people for whom the amnesty made possible a return to normal life was not a simple one for them. After all, conspiratorial activity has its own dangerous logic. It puts people at odds with the law and the authorities and is simultaneously totally dependent on coconspirators. In this situation, more than one individual finds it difficult to take a bold and resolute step and come out of hiding.

On the other hand, it has to be stressed that the envisioned suspension date of 31 October 1983 for this amnesty act allows a thorough consideration of this difficult decision and its implementation without the pressure of time. This suspension date is drawing nearer every day.

For this reason, I would like to emphasize as strongly as I can that, despite the propaganda of imperialist circles, which want to halt this process at any price, such a decision will have no unfavorable effects on any individual coming out of hiding or on those people with whom he participated in conspiratorial activities.

This case in point distinctly demonstrates that an individual making disclosures is not obligated to inform on his associates, but he is required to affirm to the proper state agencies that he will cease his criminal activity and report any such crime committed, as well as the time and place of its commission.

For this reason also we appeal one more time to all those who have become convinced that underground activity is leading nowhere and who want to return to their families and a normal life to avail themselves of the opportunities afforded by the amnesty act.

Variants of the amnesty act in the forms of the remission or reduction of sentences and the halting of criminal proceedings, as well as the opportunities inherent in the disclosure of committed criminal acts to those agencies empowered to pursue such crimes, are applicable. They are also applicable to unintentional offenders, with the exception of those who committed crimes while intoxicated.

Of this group of offenders, 872 individuals sentenced to prison had their sentences remitted; another 3,392 individuals sentenced had their sentences of restricted freedom or fines also remitted. Fifty individuals sentenced to prison for more than 3 years had their sentences reduced and criminal proceedings against 6,289 individuals, who had committed unintentional crimes, were halted because their sentences would also have been remitted.

In principle, the amnesty act did not cover common crimes. Above all, political crimes were the determining criteria, as was the distinctly growing threat of their commission and the weakened sense of security among the citizenry.

Solely for humanitarian reasons the act permits the earliest provisory release of those offenders who have committed socially less dangerous common crimes and have reached a certain age (60 years for men and 50 years for women) or who were the actual guardian of children under 16 years of age on the day of the amnesty act's enactment. Sixty-two people have been affected by the benefits of this act.

In recapitulation, we can state that various provisions of the amnesty have been applied to 3,068 individuals who committed political crimes or transgressions, as well as to nearly 11,000 other individuals who had committed basically unintentional crimes.

In this context, the accusations of hostile propaganda agencies that those who benefited from the amnesty act were mostly common criminals are groundless. Beyond the cases already mentioned, the remaining amnesty decisions cover either political offenders, or offenders who unintentionally committed crimes. The latter belong to the common crime category because they acted out of ignorance or the disinformation incited by political exhortations.

Thanks to the great efficiency of the court system, the prosecutor's office, our colleagues on criminal matters, the Citizens' Militia and the prison service, the 30-day term for releasing individuals who had been granted amnesty from the prisons and detention centers was upheld. This was envisioned by the act itself.

The amnesty was conducted under the constant, ongoing supervision of the public.

The amnesty, as an expression for national unity, aroused great interest in the world, especially in Western societies. To the greatest extent possible, we tried to facilitate the efforts of journalists from the West's mass media services by allowing them access to penal facilities and the filming of the procedures of releasing those affected by the amnesty. An objective examination of the facts has and will continue to have a measured influence in changing the position of Western governments and, above all, public opinion there vis-a-vis our country.

A regulation of the act which has not yet been applied is article 5. As a result of a decision of the Supreme Court based on a proposal of the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic, the article permits in especially substantiated cases the remission of any punishment for any crime with the exception of crimes against the state's economic interests. In the context of this provision, one can foresee that the development of the general situation, including the return to the former tranquility of national life and the cessation of criminal activity on the part of the remnants of underground organizations, will decide how much longer the benefits of the amnesty act can be enjoyed.

A particular issue is whether those granted amnesty respect the law. Noncompliance with the conditions of the act might not only result in instances specified in the act on the abolition of the benefits of amnesty, but may also be of significance in the application of the regulations referred to above. Up until now, there has been no experience or instance which would be without significance when we evaluate the effects of the amnesty act.

We cannot overlook, however, that, despite the numerous appeals, there are people who continued to commit political crimes even on the day the amnesty act became law. As a result of this, 116 people have been arrested for these crimes and are currently in our detention centers.

I believe that there are grounds to affirm that the expectations accompanying the amnesty have been fulfilled to a considerable degree.

The extensive public response to the act itself, the universal interest in its implementation and the day-by-day normalization of the sociopolitical situation in the country provide us with the authority to make such a statement.

Society has supported the general provisions of the act by an overwhelming majority. Because of this, we must ascribe greater significance to the act than simple clemency for a certain group of citizens who were in conflict with the very law itself.

12247

CSO: 2600/68

MILITIA, STEEL WORKERS MEETING DESCRIBED

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 39, 24 Sep 83 pp 9, 11

/Article by Maciej Ziebecki: "It Is Better Here Than in the Street"

/Text/ After the latest street incidents on 31 August of this year, the head of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Krakow, Col Adam Trzybinski, met with the work forces of rolling plants in the Nowa Huta combine--the Lenin Steel Works.

The choice was not accidental. Until now it was among the rolling plant workers where incidents of unrest most often occurred; various illegal activities usually started here; here Wladyslaw Hardek, until recently a member of the so-called Provisional Coordination Commission /TKK/, and Bogdan Wlosik, who died tragically a year ago, used to work.

There are over 100 workers in the hall who came here immediately after the end of the first shift. Those who chose to come are present. An announcement about the meeting was made earlier, a poster was displayed in the main building of the sheet-metal plant. Although it was stressed that the meeting's topic would be combating the phenomenon of social pathology and the fight against speculation, nobody, nevertheless, had any doubts about what the main subject of discussion here would be.

The opening statement is made by Stanislaw Blak, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee. Next to him is Stefan Niziolek, director of employee affairs of the Lenin Steel Works.

Colonel A. Trzybinski takes the floor. The audience silently approves the proposal of the WUSW /Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs/ chief; consequently he starts with the presentation of the state of safety in Nowa Huta during the last 20 months. It is not a bright picture. Contrary to widely held views, this district of Krakow is an area most seriously threatened with incidents of violation of law, primarily of a criminal nature. The figures speak for themselves: 5,448 criminal cases, almost 5,000 misdemeanors, over 7,500 militia interventions. Among the crime-producing factors, the main ones are: alcoholism, social parasitism, prostitution and drug addiction. The above facts, obviously, are not without influence on the conduct of street demonstrations.

X Offenses of a political nature: 18 criminal cases against 36 employees of the Lenin Steel Works; most recently, 3 cases are under investigation involving 7 employees, including one charge of organizing street incidents, and 2 charges of participation in such incidents.

The balance sheet of the latest events comprises 313 arrests. There were 65 employees of the Lenin Steel Works in the above number. Individuals under 25 years of age comprise 60 percent of those arrested, among whom are also minors and young students. Material losses are estimated at 2.5 million zlotys.

"Think about this," concludes Col Trzybinski, "who needed those incidents? What did they result in, besides those who were wounded and material losses? Let us wake up at last. We should not permit ourselves to be manipulated by provocateurs. It was not militia who were throwing stones...."

There are many voices from the audience, from the back of the hall; "They did throw, and not just once!"

The noise does not quite down quickly. It takes a while before the WUSW head can resume his speech: "Let us agree that we will not interrupt one another. A bit more culture...."

After a while he continues: "It is not true, it is a tendentious presentation of this case. I repeat that it was not militia who were throwing stones."

From the audience: "The procession should have been allowed to proceed...."

"It was not possible. We will not permit street riots, destruction of our common property. What does a hospital (under construction--M.Z.) have to do with all this? After all, there were attempts to set it afire, to destroy it."

The concluding motif of the interrupted presentation by Colonel Trzybinski: "Public opinion maintains that we still do not do enough, that we should act more effectively. We agree with this, but there are many causes for this. We are short of officers; after all, you also talk about this often yourselves. We have too few allies among you. And this is a tough service and not the best-paid one."

A mumbling is heard among the audience: "Why should it be paid...."

"I invite you then, even today, to a patrol, to a radio-equipped patrol car, keep them company (...) Why have you set your minds against ZOMO? After all, they are your sons, they come from workers' families. They are on military duty in ZOMO. They patrol the streets, maintain order, not just in the street."

It is time for questions. The first one is asked in the back of the hall, is very much to the point, and is directed to Colonel Trzybinski: "Did you give the order to fire grenades at the apartments? (the grenades in question are tear gas grenades--M. Z.) Whom are you mistreating? Innocent people?"

A middle-aged woman, two rows nearer: "Maybe I will answer, then, They were shot because the militia were being hit from the windows. I saw this, in the very apartment complex you are talking about."

Colonel Trzybinski: "You have probably read our apology in the printed media. It dealt with this case of discomfort resulting from the use of chemical means by the police forces in the course of restoring law and order in the area of this district. Since grenades scatter in their flight, it can happen that they fall into the windows of innocent people. We have recorded several such incidents, and in each case we are paying for the damages. But I would like to stress that in many instances the windows were shot at on purpose, because from there stones were thrown at the officers. Besides, as we can see, there are witnesses to this. To answer this question: Yes, I gave such an order."

A rustle in the audience: "What for?"

"We use force always as a last resort. When calls through megaphones are not effective we use dyed water. On 31 August we used water only when stones were thrown at the militia on Bulwarowa Street."

A question, or rather a remark: "I remember that it used to be possible to talk to a militiaman, while today I see a total lack of respect on the part of the militiaman. Such a young man and he addresses his seniors disrespectfully."

"I do not know what branch of service the officer you are talking about was from. Maybe he was from ROMO--they come from among you, and not always with the proper civil manners (ROMO--members of the military reserve, called up periodically, usually for several weeks, and assigned to the MO--M. Z.). An officer should act in a cultural way and he should respect each citizen. And this is what we teach him. We draw conclusions from each confirmed complaint regarding improper behavior. I would like to say, though, that militiamen are not different than the population at large. There are differences among them. We need people but increasingly more often we accept those who want to come to us, instead of those whom we would like to enlist. After all, you know that we have many vacancies."

"What was the purpose of creating the MSW Ministry of International Affairs?"

"This body, as, after all, you also know, exists everywhere, in each country. In our country since 1944. To put it in the broadest sense, it is a ministry set up for the purpose of looking after order in the country."

"On 31 August I was returning home from work late in the evening. I saw the militia apprehending a young man. I am convinced that they did this only because he was young."

"And were you apprehended? Let us then believe that there was some reason why they became interested in this man, and not in you."

"Militiamen drink vodka, they have beer in their cars. They get all this from you before an action."

"This is an insinuation. Indeed, just as you at your work posts, our officers on duty receive water, they usually keep it in lockers in their radio-equipped patrol cars. Can it happen that an officer smuggles beer, maybe even vodka? It can, as it happens, not at all infrequently, in your workplace. Is any supervisor able to watch all his people? On the other hand, I would like to assure you that each case of drinking alcohol on duty results in a dismissal."

"Maybe you do not give vodka, but chocolate instead, and militiamen barter it for alcohol."

"I do not know any case of giving out chocolate to officers. Besides, where did you find out about this?"

"I have overheard this in the street."

"But your commissary stores are very well stocked."

"Myths, age-old myths that are still perpetuated. Let us take a ride to 18 January Street (location of the officers' club--M. Z.) and you will see what is there. It is not different from your cafeterias."

"A large number of trucks drive up to a vodka store on Bohaterow Warszawy Street. Can we eliminate this?"

"We must for sure. I am making a note of this case. On the other hand, your help is indispensable. Give us a signal, but also react on your own, create a climate of condemnation."

"What happened to Wladyslaw Hardek? There are all kinds of stories, supposedly you are holding him...."

"This is not a secret. I know that he had already a talk with director Pustowski (director general of the Lenin Steel Works--M. Z.), and starting on 15 September he intends to start work in your plant."

"How can one manifest one's dissatisfaction now legally, without risking reprisals?"

"I think that there are many possibilities of doing this. You do not appreciate them, you do not trust. There is the party, there are trade unions and civic organizations. All one has to do is to submit in an appropriate form the reason for this discontent. In the street we cannot settle any issue. You have viewed those incidents."

"I was there."

"At least one /of you/ has admitted this. And what is your opinion?"

"You should have allowed people to pass, they would have dispersed by themselves."



"This is not true. After all, we waited patiently for this to happen. In the meantime, people who were returning from work in the steel works were joined by groups of young people, as it turned out later, not only from Nowa Huta. They took banners which were made earlier and hidden in the bushes, various tools, also stones with which to attack the militia. Our appeal was met with whistles, V-signs appeared. Finally, stones began to fly. No, we will not permit street marches with hostile slogans and antistate shouts. Street manifestations are not in the interest of your work force or the residents of this district, because they draw primarily young people, they draw the attention of unreflective onlookers. You have seen this; after all, there were even mothers with children. Is this wise? Is this the way to educate children and youth? What about the effects? Wounds, tears, bitterness. Who needs this? Who will profit from this? No, I repeat, the street is not a place for solving any issues."

A long statement by an old steel worker. On speculation, drawn-out trials of various wise guys the life of the so-called "prominenty," the climate of distrust in the authorities. His conclusion is that one has to look closer at people and seek contacts with the population.

The WUSW head: "Yes, it is true, there are still many problems to be resolved. We cannot immediately mend all that has accumulated over many years. We are undertaking various actions. This was discussed at the latest plenary session (of the Krakow PZPR Committee--M. Z.), your steel works' representatives spoke on this topic. We also want to be closer to the population and remove the irregularities with its assistance."

A no-so-young man from the second row: "To put it mildly, I have heard here talk that the attitude of officers is not always proper. I have a different experience, and I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to thank you, Colonel, and to present you these names--he hands them personally--with a request to reward them, maybe to promote them earlier. To be specific, when my apartment was broken into and I was robbed, not only did I not believe that I would recover my stolen belongings, but I also did not expect to be treated seriously and amicably by the officers in charge."

Colonel Trzybinski: "It is our duty to protect both social and private property, and when a crime is committed--to pursue its perpetrators. But I would like at the same time to advise you to take better care of your property, make your apartments safer, alert your neighbors to strangers. Two groups of burglars discovered recently, with a record of 80 and 60 crimes, testify once more to an abysmal lack of concern for one's property. Remember that the militia cannot manage to prevent everything."

Another question, again about the incidents: "Could not the militia action have ended earlier, at 5 or 6 o'clock? After all, by that time nothing more was going on."

"No, it was not possible. As some people know, such incidents develop according to a certain scenario. It is not an accident. Groups that were dispersed hide between buildings and attack militia units from there. They also attempt to disperse our forces. At this very phase many of our officers were wounded; they

still remain in the hospital. Besides, those groups usually try to merge with people leaving church. We were promised recently that there would be no afternoon service in the Biencyce Church. Nevertheless, such a service was held and also from there a group emerged and began attacking the militia, building barricades, destroying public facilities. As you know, this church cannot be considered an oasis of peace."

"I thought that all this ended earlier."

"The developments in Nowa Huta during the last several months are a thought-out program, and those incidents proceed according to a scenario prepared in advance. Hence those masks over the faces, supplies of tools and stones, light dresses that are fit for such an "occasion," and, finally, tactics designed for scattering our forces and causing maximal losses. I repeat this once more, do not permit groups of provocateurs to manipulate you."

The atmosphere that was turbulent at the beginning calms down visibly as time passes. There is less and less aggressiveness in the questions, as if there is more concern about the broadly conceived issues of law and order. It is true that several individuals leave before the meeting is over, but they do this somewhat stealthily, not ostentatiously. The meeting nears its end. Col A. Trzybinski asks whether it was a necessary meeting, whether it proved to be useful.

"Yes, yes," timid voices can be heard. Somebody says that it is better to meet here than in the street.

9644

CSO: 2600/75

PROBLEMS IN PUBLISHING INDUSTRY DESCRIBED

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 36, 7 Sep 83 p 12

[Article by Jacek Wojciechowski: "Publishing 'Miracle' and What Next?"]

[Text] In 1982 a miracle of a kind happened: book publishing increased by 30 percent with the same manufacturing base and under the same publishing conditions. The conclusion is that the entire increase took place mainly as a result of a considerable effort of everyone involved in that industry.

Nevertheless, the overall supply of books is still scanty. Thus, the publishing quotas for the current year forecast an increase in publishing to 187 million copies a year, with the same manufacturing base and under the same publishing conditions, of course. This, in turn, is quite sufficient to cool down the wave of enthusiasm, since books can neither be printed from nothing nor with bare hands.

Approximately in mid-July, daily newspapers received PAP communiques happily announcing the publishing quotas for the current year as a success, yet hardly mentioning the conditions necessary to achieve it. Emphasis was placed so cleverly that one actually wanted to applaud. And so the propaganda spirit of success found its new expression. However, it was enough to reflect for a moment over the information that in the first half of the year 90 million (actually 87 million) copies were published, which obviously is not half of 187 million. Generally speaking, there exists a serious fear that such a quota is not feasible or maybe the situation is even worse, and if I am mistaken, I will gladly eat my hat.

After all, the discrepancies between the optimism of official statistics and reality are quite apparent to everyone. It is enough to want to buy a specific book. Of course, sometimes it is even possible, but at a flea market and as a rule for half of one's monthly salary. The black market, in turn, if it exists, is always an evidence of something evil.

Under such circumstances we often buy books which are not necessarily the most wanted ones, books which not infrequently fall apart at the first reading.

Furthermore, publishing of monthly magazines is worth reflecting upon. In July, copies of issue No 4 prevailed. Is July then the fourth month of the year? In addition to this, one needs to recall a dramatic announcement (TU I TERAZ No 27 p 5) in which the best Polish publishing house, namely PIW [State Publishing Institute], cancelled the publication of a number of scheduled books. So if even PIW has difficulties, then...

What, then, is the truth about our book publishing--success or decay? An unquestionable success was the last year's increase in book publishing, which was in a sense a bounce off the bottom. On the other hand, however, not even half of existing needs are met; it is, then, more difficult to talk about awakening and shaping of future needs. What is equally dramatic is that the entire system of book publishing and distribution is not at all stable and the crisis which began in the mid-1970's still goes on--with a good chance of becoming worse, which would have unpredictable consequences.

After all, an average reader is not so naive as to swallow the babbling about the publishing achievements, because he sees the facts. What he sees and hears is "there isn't--there wasn't--there won't be" and, irritated by his own helplessness, he takes his anger out on booksellers, accusing them of God knows what, including black market deals. This is obvious nonsense, a blind charge ahead at the first person on hand; after all, a bookseller can sell only what he has and not what he does not have.

Equally nonsensical are complaints against libraries, for where should they get the books that do not exist? Picking on libraries is immoral anyway, because the very fact that they do function is unusual. A library is a burden to a government department and local administration, a fifth wheel, an oddity which no one wants. When in the Ministry of Culture and Art a department which dealt with everything concerning books had been established, libraries were obviously ignored. Furthermore, in December the regulations about librarians' salaries were abolished, and to this day no one has had time to work out new regulations. So, can this be a normal institution?

All in all, it is only logical that readers direct most of their objections at publishers, placing on them a lion's share of blame for shortages on the book market. This is a result of the fact that a publisher places his name on the book, does not escape into anonymity, so that there is a specific guilty party. But in our system a publishing house is a firm which is supposed to publish a specific number of books for a specific amount of money using the quantity of paper specified in advance. It is unnecessary to explain to anybody that this formula cannot be equated with a formula for success. In reality, the working of publishing houses is completely different from what everybody thinks it is, and very frequently it is not a financial factor but simply professional ambition that sets it into motion.

Our publisher does not have his own printing plant but is a (burdensome) customer of many of them simultaneously, paying less than the customer who orders labels reading "Plum jam made of pumpkins." A publisher does not always make decisions himself in matters of circulation as well as book prices and has no influence whatsoever in distribution and sales. Finally, the publisher does not have his own authors at his disposal, but makes use of ready-made offers and, basically, has the right to just one entirely autonomous decision: he does not have to accept an offer. But he has to publish something, doesn't he?

To complete the picture one should explain right away that a popular charge that publishers allegedly offer trash in large quantities is groundless. Books which can really be classified as trash do not exceed 1 percent of the yearly publishing output. If the entire economy could keep such a low margin of error, Poland would truly become another Japan.

All right, then--an exasperated reader might say in a futile search for the culprit--but the Ministry of Culture and Art is most certainly responsible for book production. One cannot get away from this, even through lies. Well, the ministry is the obvious responsible party if one can talk about responsibility for something over which one has minimal control. Because, to tell the truth, the minister of culture and art can have a say but only in the final stage of book production and distribution. In earlier stages everything depends on the decision of six or seven other ministries which are by comparison definitely stronger than the Ministry of Culture and Art. Is then the word "responsibility" the right one?

In addition, although books are printed for the market, they are not considered to be marketable merchandise and thus they do not enjoy any privileges. Neither does book production fall within the framework of operational programs or government's orders. Under these conditions the notion of responsibility may be juggled as one wishes. And it's the real thing, (not Coca-Cola, however). On the example of a fairly complicated process of book printing the weak points of our economic system are manifested: competence--diluted, coordination--absent, voluntarism. No wonder then that the reform is so sluggish.

I think that in the case of the publishing industry, looking for the culprits should be abandoned; instead, sources of weakness should be analyzed. In my opinion there are three such sources, and sometimes we know more of them than at other times.

The first such source, generally known, by the way, is a result of paper shortages which, after all, are present all over the world. Namely, the increase of world paper production lags behind the increase in demand and certainly will never catch up, so the price of paper increases. New solutions are dilligently researched, there are even substitute materials (e.g., very durable, synthetic "paper"), which are prohibitively expensive with much worse utility characteristics.

In our country, as of late, total paper production has increased considerably--we do not know for how long. However, the quality is still substandard while the assortment does not meet publishing needs, since books cannot be printed on just any paper. There is a particular need for third class pelure paper and coated paper. Because of these shortages books are printed on what is available, with the result that many books fall apart at first reading while it is difficult to differentiate the text from a dirty background.

Is there any solution? Yes: growth and modernization of the paper industry so that paper production increases and the assortment changes. But foreign currency is needed for this. Another solution lies in importing paper but that, too, requires foreign currency. Yet foreign currency is not available and will not be in the near future, particularly since a nightmarish foreign currency debt hangs overhead and there are sanctions to boot. Whoever thought that the crisis and sanctions will somehow bypass us did not have his head screwed on right.

The know-it-alls think that they have found a method. Not so long ago, one editor played the sage on the radio by cursing awkward paper recycling projects, for in it he saw the solution to our paper difficulties, whereas we allegedly "prefer to cut down forests." Poor but unreliable fool: was it not your duty to read up prior to the broadcast on from what and how paper is made?

In paper production, recycled paper (and not of every kind) constitutes only a small portion; the greater the quantity of recycled paper, the lower the quality of the product. From recycled paper alone one can (I don't know whether this is possible in Poland) produce paper of the 10th quality class, which is not suitable for anything. Thus, books printed on recycled paper are a sham and this finally has to be admitted. However, there is supposedly a chance to export our recycled paper, and that is excellent.

Another and at the same time main yet lesser known source of difficulties in our printing industry is the dramatic crisis in that industry. We seem to forget that the printing industry is as much of an industry as any other and that it depends on the same general economic determinants. Good will alone will not print a book, nor will it produce a car or a chamber pot. Mobilization of good will last year indeed aided in the intensification of printing output, but that was all; a good will lemon was squeezed to the last drop.

At present, the number one problem is a lack of machines and spare parts for them--let us say clearly: a catastrophic shortage. The period of exploitation of machinery has been prolonged already over and above the norm, so now everything is breaking down with increased speed. There are no reserves here. Without significant foreign currency support, a year after the great publishing leap an even greater regression may take place.

The printing industry, furthermore, has shortages of everything. There is a shortage of printer's ink (foreign currency) and the quality of the existing kinds does not withstand criticism; after all, everyone can see for himself--many newspapers can be neither touched nor read. There is a shortage of offset plates, binder's types and scissors (foreign currency) and only God knows what else. How can books be bound if there is no book binding cotton cloth (foreign currency) and the linen offered instead can be used only for making blind folds so that one cannot see what is happening in the printing industry? Here is the picture: how can one glue books if there is a lack of bone glue--only of the useful kind (shortage of animals)--and substitutes like dextrin glue are good for nothing; maybe we will start selling books in loose sheets, by pounds.

Upon hearing how much foreign currency is needed, many think we have gone mad, and yet they are wrong. No country in the world, particularly a small one, can produce everything itself. Therefore, the opening into the world was a correct move; only the method of implementation bordered on madness. For with a few exceptions--as when in the manufacturing of book binding knives (a small piece of metal) components purchased with foreign currency are needed, which borders on paranoia--the situation under normal circumstances would not raise objections.

And now what? We are stuck without foreign currency. And that is cold hard cash, not the so-called limits with which one can wallpaper a room.

The printing industry is cursed with yet another thing--namely, nobody wants to work in the printing plants. Work there is very unhealthy, hard, and salaries are on the level of librarians' salaries, which is almost nothing. Above all there is a shortage of typesetters, and if the retirees do not decide to return to work, even on a part-time basis, then we have a problem: already today there is nobody to set certain scientific texts in Poland.

Finally, the third source of printing difficulties is not, most likely, as yet fully comprehended. But the time will come when we will feel it acutely.

The whole problem lies in the fact that every book, as an element of the communication process, has to have a sender, i.e., an author. And here the circle of authors is shrinking in a terrifying manner, particularly from a qualitative point of view. It is obvious that one cannot read books which have not been written at all or those poorly written.

Gradually, authors of scientific works give up publishing, discouraged not just by embarrassing rates but mainly by the fantastically long printing time of scientific works, so long that frequently printing becomes outdated, senseless. Foreign authors give up printing their works in our country. At the same time, we have a diminishing number of scientific texts suitable for international exchange, and it is not difficult to guess the danger of such a state of affairs.

Low fees combined with the time required for book printing have been scaring people away from writing for a long time. That is why, among other reasons, there are so few authors of children's books, while, on the other hand, satirically high fees for translation have led the art of translation astray. In spite of all of that, some novels, short stories and poetry have been created, frequently interesting, sometimes outstanding. But what will happen next?

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# CENTRAL POSITION OF PARTY IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 10 Sep 83 pp 1-4

/Article by Dr Ilie Radulescu: "The Party As the Vital Center of Socialist Revolution and Construction"/

/Text/ Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The party is emerging with growing strength as the vital center of the entire nation, disseminating the enterprising thought that will secure revolutionary social reform and the power that inspires all creative energies and mobilizes the genius of the entire Romanian people, offering the nation wonderful prospects of progress and civilization."

By virtue of the problems it took up, the spirit in which it was conducted, and the conclusions summarized by Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, the Conference on Organizational and Political-Educational Problems qualifies as an event of major significance in Romania's social-political experience, in the party's activity as a leading social force, and in party propaganda as well as political-educational work. Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the conference develops and enriches the theoretical conception of the party, of its role in society, and of the practical ways of exercising its leadership under the conditions of the fully developed socialist society, a qualitatively higher stage through which Romania is now passing. It determines the objective reasons for the growth of the party's role in terms of theory and it defines the current requirements for the party's performance of its role in management of the economy, science, education, art, culture and social activity as a whole, as well as those for improving organizational work, the approach and working methods of all party organs and organizations, and propaganda, political-ideological and cultural-educational work. It may be quite rightly said that this speech gives us a coherent theory concerning the party and its functions in the present stage of the nation's socialist progress, combined with an exceptional summary of the organizational and political-ideological experience acquired in the course of time, which experience is a valuable possession for the entire party with spirited responses in the world communist movement and on a broader international level. That is why the broad range of the subject matter of Nicolae Ceausescu's speech lends it the character of a program document of the CPR and projects it upon the world as a contribution to the enrichment of revolutionary theory.

## An Integral Part of the People

Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works and his rich conception of socialist revolution and construction emphasize the problems of party leadership in keeping with the critical importance of management by the party to the success of the new order. But what commands attention from the first stands taken to the recent speech at the Mangalia Conference is the originality of that conception and the evaluation of the party's role and functions in complete symbiosis with the general conception of socialist society as an order with a high material, cultural and moral civilization and a democratic order wherein the power is exercised by the people in their own social and national interests. It is to Nicolae Ceausescu's credit that he freed the conception of the party from its dogmatic, petrified restrictions and from all that retarded the development of its political power and could drive it alienation of the masses and failure. The secretary general's ideological and theoretical procedure gave the CPR a scientific, revolutionary view both of its mission in the new stage of socialist development in Romania and of its internal structures and its relations with the state, the mass and public organizations, the other social bodies, the working class and the people as a whole. By inaugurating a new era in the party's existence and in the exercise of its political leadership in society, the Ninth CPR Congress inaugurated a new era in the development of the whole socialist society in Romania, within which the party and the people acted together as a monolithic unit and made essential changes that are now advancing the nation on the paths of all-around progress.

There is no space in this article for an exhaustive analysis of Nicolae Ceausescu's revolutionary conception of the Communist Party. But a number of entirely new points must be indicated that vitalize the party itself and fortify Romania's whole social organism. Among these the following are noteworthy: (a) Objective necessities for construction of the fully developed socialist society inevitably determine the very development of the party's leadership in society, and the entire task of building the new order, exploration of the new social phenomena, realistic scientific substantiation of the developmental program, making the masses aware of the implementation of that program and organizing their constructive efforts are especially noteworthy among those necessities. (b) The party exercises political leadership in society and it is not above the state organs, the other social bodies, the social classes, the state or society but acts from within society as its vital nucleus and its main motive force. (c) As an integral part of the people and their purposeful and organized revolutionary detachment, the party acts in close unity with the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the people as a whole regardless of nationality and with the same essential political, ideological, economic, social and national goals. (d) The political and ideological training of party personnel and activists, and ultimately of all party members, must be raised to the level of true professional revolutionaries. (e) The party's active social integration is one of the immutable laws of its evolution, and its contact with the masses and its revolutionary action within the workers collectives are characteristic features of its capacity as a revolutionary mass party and a national political force that directs, unifies, inspires and organizes the general efforts toward construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

As we recall today, after the Mangalia Conference, Nicolae Ceausescu's conception of the party's course of action in social management, a number of main ideas emerge that can be summarized under a few major headings.

#### The Inspirer of the Program for Romania's Socialist Development

The facts show that a correct general political policy for all activities is a sine qua non for social management, as well as a realistic, scientific substantiation of the programs for social development with complete integration of current development with long-range social evolution. Social experience proves that in the period of socialist construction too it is highly important to combine the strategic view with the tactical one and to approach social phenomena from the standpoint of their objective evolution, allowing both for the current requirements of national progress in order to carry out the basic principles of socialism and communism and for the objective trends of mankind's economic, technical and social progress, which affect Romania in one way or another.

Nicolae Ceausescu's conclusion that "We have clear programs and decisions and we have a correct general policy for all activities" expresses the results of a constant and diligent effort that has characterized the party's activity since the Ninth CPR Congress, and realistic interpretation of the requirements for Romania's progress and determination of the economic and social options in the light of those requirements as well as the real possibilities for national progress, viewed in their evolution, are characteristic features of that effort. The party secretary general's definition of the concept of the fully developed socialist society was of great theoretical and practical importance, and it did away with the narrow, one-sided views of socialism that overestimated social relations and underrated the motive power of the productive forces, which were narrowly regarded in the same views solely as a relationship between groups A and B of material production, without particularizing or grading the importance of each sector of material production. In the light of the great accomplishments that changed the face of the nation's industry, we can better judge today both the theoretical and the practical value of the concept of the fully developed socialist society, whereby the new order is to be achieved according to a uniform system in which both the productive forces and production relations, both the material and the cultural aspects of society, both the economic and the social structures, and both the economy and the quality of life are developed, and all-around development of the human personality is the essence of the quality of life. The CPR Program, the documents of the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference, and the important national programs for industry, energy, land "reconstruction" as well as ideology and culture prove that the party included theoretical aims in its current policy once the specific ways of developing the nation in this five-year plan and in view of the present decade were substantiated. They are all incorporated in the current strategic objective set by the 12th Party Congress, which Nicolae Ceausescu so succinctly defined as the "achievement of a new quality of work and life and the start of a new developmental stage of Romanian society."

In enhancing the conception of the Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu defined in masterly fashion the dialectical relationship between theory and practice and between the party's political and organizational functions, bringing out the vital importance of organizational work in the act of social management by the party. The party secretary general said, "However correct a general policy may be,

and however correct our programs and plans may be, they are merely plans and documents unless highly responsible action and the necessary measures are taken to carry them out."

While stressing the part played by progressive ideas and policy in directing human activity, historical materialism has always rejected social automatism or automatic progress. The theory of social action is one of the fundamental precepts of Marxist thought. Marx noted the fact that unlike any other social theory, communism does not intend to contemplate the world but to transform it, and to transform it on a revolutionary basis in the spirit of the communist conception. For the working class and the revolutionary forces it is one-sided and harmful to reduce Marxism to the materialistic interpretation of society. Marx based the theory of class struggle and consequently the theory of socialist revolution on that interpretation, indicating that historical materialism and the theory of scientific socialism only clarify and guide the social struggle. The victory of socialist revolution and construction requires social action, the revolutionary struggle to do away with the old order and to build the new one, and the actual collective and individual effort to carry out the party's program, its general political policy, and its decisions and measures in all areas. It is true that the masses become a reforming social force if they become conscious of their social, class and national interests, but it is equally true that their reforming power can be exercised only through organized action directed toward the same purposes, inspired by the party programs, and strengthened by the party's organizing activity. Without organization social action is haphazard, ineffective and improvident, whereas organization and uniform coordination of the forces, their concentration in priority areas vital to social progress, their appropriate distribution, and their training to carry out the given objectives are objective requirements to bring about social progress. Hence organization is one of the most important functions of the party as the vital center of society and the nation.

Social experience refutes the opinions sometimes published in foreign social-political literature that confine the working class party's role to the ideological function and theoretical definition of the methods of socialist revolution and construction, leaving society to develop automatically by virtue of its objective laws, which is also attested by the irrationality of the conceptions that reduce the party's role to the organizational function, making it a mere instrument of power or mechanism of governmental or ultimately administrative action. On the contrary, the strength of the party and consequently of the people lies in the uniform combination of conceptual with organizational work and in performance of the ideological function in complete dialectical unity with the organizational function.

We have long-standing revolutionary traditions in Romania. The party has acquired a wealth of ideological, organizational and managerial experience throughout its long history. That experience has become a national possession of the same national importance as the technical-material base created in those years, the personnel we have, and the organizational structures that exist today in Romanian society. It may be said that at the present developmental level of Romanian society use of the treasury of experience acquired by the party, state, mass and public organizations and the nation as a whole is one of the main motive forces of social progress. It means synthesizing all that is effective and lasting in

organization and management operations, purging the acquired experience of all that is ephemeral and outmoded, firmly weeding out what has proved backward and interferes with progress, and initiating new measures that will renovate management and test more efficient methods of organization and management in order to generalize what proves viable and progressive.

#### The New Stage and New Standards of Organization and Management

A number of acquisitions from the preceding years lend a new quality to the CPR today, guaranteeing the pronounced advance of its organizational function throughout society, and its numerical and qualitative development in the course of socialist revolution and construction is by far the most noteworthy among them. The CPR now numbers over 3.3 million members enrolled in 69,000 primary organizations in all social activities, acting as vital centers for the entire people's unification in implementing the party's program and political policy. Second most important is the formation of a large corps of party activists numbering over 580,000 communists as true progressive forces organizing and mobilizing the communists and the masses for practical revolutionary work. In the third place, many cadres and detachments of communist activists were formed\* in the years since the Ninth Congress, stalwarts who acquired a political-ideological and professional awareness in keeping with the social requirements and a communist managerial approach and habits. It may be quite rightly said that the talented cadres formed by the party are socialist Romania's gold reserve and one of the major gains of socialist Romanian society. And in the fourth place, new social, organizational and administrative structures have been formed, the people's political-ideological, professional and intellectual makeup has been transformed, and the whole nation has been permanently united around and under the leadership of the CPR and Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of Romania. This unity has truly become a motive force of society and the guarantee of the advance toward communism and of the nation's sovereignty and independence.

Some particularly important objectives and principles are to be noted in the areas of social-political and organizational experience and social management: (a) the presence of the party organizations in all social activities and in all socialist units; (b) the combination of democratic centralism with a broad internal party democracy in uniform social management; (c) proper distribution of the forces to cover all tasks and activities; (d) the combination of collective management with personal responsibility at work; (e) knowledge and application of the party's decisions, the national laws, and Nicolae Ceausescu's directions; (f) formation of the necessary cadres and their proper specialized and political-ideological training; (g) exercise of party control and regular control of the progress of all activities; and (h) detection and elimination of the defects and contradictions that arise, providing for rapid progress. And it is only by everyday political work and by organizational and administrative efforts that social events can be well known, their objective course understood, and the defects eliminated. Hence also the importance of Nicolae Ceausescu's advice: "Therefore we must study social development thoroughly, understand the objective laws, note the contradictions promptly and take organized, purposeful action to resolve them, thus laying the foundation for Romania's progress." Those are major requirements for social management by the party and standards of the revolutionary spirit characteristic of the communists, a revolutionary spirit that is

\*In all fields.

becoming one of the most active forces for social progress in the present stage of Romania's development.

Analized from the standpoint of society's objective progress toward communism, Nicolae Ceausescu's conception of the new man and the revolutionary reform of his way of thought, social action and behavior is a component part of the broader, general concept of the fully developed socialist society and the ways of building it. For if the new order is regarded and achieved as a social organism wherein all components are harmoniously developed so that the integrity and proper operation of the entire social system is secured, then the purpose of this development can only be a humanistic and humanistic-revolutionary one, namely achievement of a new quality of social existence and consequently creation of all the necessary conditions for full development of the human personality. In the light of this interpretation of Romanian society's ultimate aims, we see even more clearly the social significance of the party secretary general's emphasis upon the problem of forming the new man as one of the permanent current and long-range tasks of the CPR and Romanian socialist society. The political-ideological, moral and intellectual molding of the individual according to the fundamental precepts of scientific socialism about work and life stems from the party's very conception of the role of the masses and the people as creators of history. Nothing can be accomplished without purposeful human action. Nothing comes from outside of society, and the best programs can only be archival documents unless the masses take an active part in their implementation.

There is no question that the masses' active participation in the labor and struggle to build the new order has an unequalled transforming effect. The new revolutionary consciousness, the new attitude toward work and social relations, a new conception of society, and the new characteristics of socialist patriotism and humanism were formed in the effort to rebuild the country suffering from Hitlerite domination and in the huge task of national economic and cultural construction upon socialist foundations. The need of a constant ideological and political-educational effort to make the masses aware of their social mission and social behavior also became evident as a sine qua non for progress. The progress made in building the new order incorporates both the workers' constructive efforts and patriotic enthusiasm and the party's mass political-educational and organizational work and its effort to correctly determine the basic aims of building fully developed socialism. What Nicolae Ceausescu means is the diligent effort to combine the effect of the objective factors of social development with educational work on many and broad levels in order to form the man of Romanian society in keeping with the period in which he lives. It is a period of radical and revolutionary social reforms, unprecedented economic and technical progress, great scientific discoveries, and an unparalleled cultural advance, a period that requires clear comprehension of the objective course of society, unlimited knowledge of idealist dogmas and ideas, and mastery of all that is more worthy than social and human thought and experience have been accumulating. The party secretary general has established a general integrating conception of man that includes the following requirements and courses of action: (a) political-ideological training and mastery of the revolutionary dialectical-materialist conception of the world and society and of scientific socialism; (b) professional technical training and thorough mastery of the profession; (c) broadening of the scientific horizon and mastery of all that is more valuable than is achieved by contemporary science, technology and human thought; (d) broadening of the cultural

horizon and assimilation of the national and universal cultural values; and (e) moral uplift and living by the principles of socialist ethics and justice, which combine the Romanian people's perennial virtues of honor, justice, humanity, patriotism, mutual aid etc. in an original synthesis with the virtues of socialist society, namely the revolutionary spirit, intolerance of defects, the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, and united action to carry out the party policy.

Experience tells us that political-educational and ideological work is vital to the party's leadership in society and to the task of forming socialist awareness and the new man, especially since revolutionary socialist awareness tends to lag behind and society is undergoing a rapid succession of events and taking a rising course inconceivable in the past that requires constant theoretical investigation and unremitting political-ideological effort. Neglect of theoretical and ideological activity entails the risk of loss of perspective and lapsing into a narrow pragmatism with no clear social perspective with definite goals, while on the contrary theoretical investigation permits theoretical substantiation of the task of socialist construction and clarifies social activity, lending it perspective and permitting better application of the nation's constructive effort. Viewing matters in this light, we think the conclusion is very clear that the ideological function is one of the Communist Party's most important functions as a leading political force in society. Nicolae Ceausescu said that the progressive ideas emanate from the party as the vital revolutionary center of society, it is the bright torch that illuminates the people's struggle for the better, and it keeps the country ever young by its young ideas and by all that it plans, organizes and completes.

The period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress brought out once again the objective necessity of this function, and the measures initiated and promoted by Nicolae Ceausescu to eradicate forms of dogmatism and isolation, to release initiative and encourage creativeness, and to promote wide receptiveness to the realities of life lent substance to ideological work and led to enrichment of social-political thought with new and significant theoretical principles.

A visionary of great revolutionary courage, Nicolae Ceausescu in his theoretical works and in his practical programs and measures presents the basic aims of Romania's development to the people and the world in a broad historical perspective, as well as the ways and means of achieving them, emphasizing the increasingly important role of the party, state and political, organizational, ideological and educational work in performing the nation's great tasks in this historical period. Through the wealth of theoretical and practical subjects that they take up, the secretary general's works clarify the CPR's ideological and political-educational activity and lend substance to the task of forming the new man.

With Nicolae Ceausescu's encouragement and telling contribution in theoretically synthesizing and generalizing the characteristic processes of Romanian society's development and of human evolution in the present period and in guiding ideological and cultural activity, in the years since the Ninth Party Congress the CPR has made a vast in-depth study of the complex problems of the new developmental stage of socialist construction in Romania and of the essential processes and highly contradictory trends appearing in the world of today. The theoretical ideas and original views developed in this period (especially those concerning the continuous revolutionary process of building the new order, the party's



political leadership in society, the social role of the working class, Romanian society's economic-financial mechanism, the system of workers self-management, economic self-administration and self-supply, the system of workers revolutionary democracy, the social contradictions in the socialist system, the roles of the nation, national minorities, sovereignty and independence, the principles of international collaboration and peace and of establishment of the new world economic order, et al.) have enriched the CPR's ideological treasury, broadened the communists' and workers' political and theoretical horizons, and enhanced the CPR's contribution to the development of the ideology of scientific socialism.

I consider it noteworthy in this connection that the rich theoretical and ideological activity of the CPR and its secretary general is of particular international significance by virtue of its example and its results. As we know, despite the bourgeois political scientists' assertions about an alleged process of disideologizing social existence, the role of ideology and revolutionary theory is increasing more and more in the contemporary world. The complexity of the world revolutionary process, the great diversity of socialist construction and of social construction in the countries freed of colonial rule, and the social conflicts in the capitalist countries are making theoretical analysis and development of new conceptual principles to clarify the struggle for progress more necessary than ever before. And as we also know, many nihilist theories have appeared in the capitalist world in the postwar period that underrate the roles of the nation, of the fatherland and patriotism, and of national sovereignty, deny or minimize human progress, and encourage neofascism and the rightist policy of force. Disorientations among the youth of the western world and the phenomenon of human misdirection have been accentuated by bourgeois ideological deterioration. Now more than ever, all of this requires study of the world revolutionary process, the changes and new trends in the progressive, revolutionary communist and workers movement, and the problems of world economic and social progress. To be sure international theoretical discussions and meetings are held, but they are often intended as occasions to authenticate unilaterally the value of some experiment in socialist construction or to criticize or reject another experiment. Intolerant stands on other views are often taken, and there is a lack of receptiveness to new ideas as well as attempts to perpetuate outmoded, dogmatic or sectarian ideas. The progress of revolutionary ideology and of dialectical-materialist thought undoubtedly requires rejection of such anachronisms and intensification of the dialogue in the communist and workers movement and of constructive dialogue with democratic and constructive ideas throughout the world. That is just what the party secretary general requires and what the CPR has been doing for many years, by combining the effort toward development of internal theoretical work and toward ideological training of communists and the masses with constant participation in the dialogue of ideas in the communist movement and the contemporary world, in the spirit of its internationalist responsibility for the destinies of society, of peace, and of man.

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## ROLE OF SOCIALIST LEGALITY IN CONTEMPORARY LIFE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 10 Sep 83 pp 9-11

/Article by Nicolae Popovici, prosecutor general: "Socialist Legality in the Process of Building the New Order"

/Text Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The measures adopted for thorough study and mastery of all decisions and laws of the land on the part of all party and state organs, from top to bottom, must be firmly enforced. No one may disregard or violate the decisions and laws of the land for any reason."

The CPR feels that the revolutionary process of building the new order and the enhancement of workers' democracy are closely related to the formation and strict observance of a suitable body of regulations governing the relations in society and those between citizens and the state. From the first stages of the struggle to gain power and of consolidation of the victories won against the reactionary political forces, the party has been concerned with creating and developing a revolutionary workers democracy that will provide for the masses' participation in social management. Accordingly the demolition of the bourgeois state system and the repeal of the old legislation, which were opposed to the working class and Communist Party, were major political objectives in full agreement with the nation's vital interests and its requirements for progress. The measures are well known that were taken in this direction, as well as the organizational structure that was gradually created in order to give the workers access for the first time in history to direct and actual management of all activities and for the exercise of power by the people and for the people.

After the working class gained political power in alliance with the peasantry and all workers, the revolution and socialist construction were inseparable from the formation of a new state system, the institution of a new legal order, and the enactment and firm enforcement of a new kind of legality, a people's democratic legality, throughout society as a whole.

The essence of the new legality lay in its expression of the interests and will of the masses, since the workers had a particular role to play in drafting and enforcing the new revolutionary legislation and in social reconstruction and management on a new basis. The CPR emphasized the regulatory function of the law

and its role in regulating social and production relations in keeping with the social innovations and the will of the working class and the masses.

New and profoundly revolutionary regulatory enactments were gradually drafted whereby the people consolidated their gains in accordance with their economic and social-political objectives.

As they progressed through the stages of construction of the new order, the functions of socialist law became more and more closely involved with the functions of the state, and the role of the new legal system was expanded to reflect the economic and social-political changes in the nation.

In the first years of exercise of the new political power there was a wrong attitude to the effect that in the revolutionary process dictatorship of the proletariat was above the law, and any measures were justified in the name of the power of the working class, sometimes to the point of disregarding the laws and even to abuses. Actually, the political power of the working class and the workers could be strengthened and developed only by strict observance of the laws in an authentic climate of legality wherein the increasingly complex tasks of socialist construction, satisfaction of the citizens' material and cultural needs, and development of the human personality are possible.

Not even in the period right after the working class seized political power was there any "legislative vacuum." The nation's social-political and economic activity was conducted legally, and the civil rights and freedoms were protected by the Constitution and laws. Under those circumstances illegalities and abuses were no due to lack of legal standards but to violation of them.

In the light of the innovating guidelines of the Ninth Party Congress, the CPR took firm action to enhance socialist democracy, to eliminate any violations of legality, and to base social organization on the principles of socialist ethics and justice. The state's role in socioeconomic management was enhanced by a legislative policy of drafting and strictly enforcing legal standards that would express the entire Romanian people's vital interests and would most accurately reflect and foster the social reforms.

It is to Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's historic credit that he developed and based all organization and management of Romanian society on the revolutionary idea that the constant advancement and consolidation of socialist legality are objective requirements in the process of building the new order and essential considerations upon which the very success of socialist construction in Romania depends. While brilliantly substantiating the principle of strengthening socialist legality as a major requirement for further expansion of Romanian democracy, the party secretary general pointed out that no one has the right to take advantage of his functions in order to violate or disregard the laws of the land, which are binding upon all citizens and all state organs.

Development of socialist democracy requires observance of the legal standards because the laws are drafted with the people's extensive participation and represent their will. This creates the best conditions for strengthening legality as an expression of a purposeful attitude on the part of the citizens. As socialist democracy is enhanced and the level of civic awareness rises, observance of the

legal standards is a result of the citizens' conviction that there is a complete coordination between the general interests expressed by the laws and their own interests. Moreover socialist legislation provides the legal framework for the efficient operation of the socialist democratic system.

In this way Romanian society harmonizes order, discipline and socialist legality with true freedom and democracy in accordance with the party's view of the dialectical relationship between democracy and legality.

In connection with the great changes in the period of socialist construction, the Ninth Party Congress marked the beginning of a radically innovating stage in the development of the regulatory system as well by implementing the party secretary general's revolutionary idea of the place and role of law in the improvement of social relations. The legislative activity of the last 18 years bears out the party's creative spirit and its ability to understand the requirements of the new in the field of law. Laws and other regulatory enactments with a new content have been assessed which have enriched the national legal heritage by advancing the spirit of justice and equity and the revolutionary spirit, contributing to the construction of a legal system in keeping with the stage of building the fully developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism.

Pursuant to the decisions and guidelines of the 12th Party Congress and the party secretary general's directions, the legislation was further improved to ensure the efficiency of economic and social activity, the activity of the state and its organs, and that of the bodies for workers self-management and self-administration, to permanently introduce the new economic-financial mechanism, and to enhance economic effectiveness in all activities.

The legal regulations accordingly acquired new dimensions both in their regulatory content and in their coverage of the increasingly complex and constantly improving socioeconomic relations, since all aspects of economic activity and relations between citizens and the state became subject to law. In this way socialist property and the other basic values of Romanian society are more effectively protected and every worker's threefold capacity as owner, producer and beneficiary has been consolidated in the interest of the citizens and the entire people.

The essence of this legislation lies in the broad democratism of the laws and decisions, which require every citizen to observe them more responsibly and to militate in a revolutionary spirit to secure a climate of perfect order and discipline.

In accordance with the program for building the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism, it is vital in the present stage of the nation's development to keep raising the level of legal awareness so that all citizens will observe the laws as a freely accepted habit in full accord with their status as owners, producers and beneficiaries of the national wealth.

But negative manifestations in conflict with these requirements still appear in society, in the form of thefts of public property, acts of social parasitism and profiteering, violations of order and discipline in units, etc. Therefore in order to eradicate such manifestations it is necessary to develop legal

awareness, which has an increasingly important part to play in preventing legal violations and in forming an aggressive collective attitude and strong public opinion against violators of the legal standards.

The CPR considers consolidation of democracy incompatible with violation of the laws. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "Revolutionary democracy and the workers revolutionary democratic state require perfect discipline and order. Socialism cannot be achieved by disregard and violation of the laws and anarchy!"

The laws and decisions approved by the Grand National Assembly as the highest organ of state power reflect the workers' will and vital interests. They are approved with their participation and form an effective body of laws that fosters economic and social progress and the unrestricted fulfillment of the masses' creative capacity and every worker's initiative.

Romanian society has good laws and decisions and clear operational programs developed democratically on the party's initiative and under its leadership. We have a correct general policy for all activities, as the party secretary general said in pointing out that the organizational, political and educational measures to implement it are now decisive.

It is accordingly necessary to undertake the best organizational and political-educational measures to ensure enforcement of the laws and decisions to the letter.

But we find that some regulatory enactments are disregarded or violated in bad faith at times, such as those for example on economic-financial activity, greater effectiveness of productive capital and investments, institution of a strict regime of economy and firm financial discipline, etc., which regulate production of material goods, working relationships, and protection and proper management of public property.

There are still responsible elements in centrals, enterprises and administrative collectives in various economic units who are not always exacting enough in pursuit of lower production outlays, most productive use of equipment, and observance of consumption norms, those for product quality, and the indicators of financial-economic effectiveness, although all those activities are specified in regulatory enactments and are consequently clear obligations arising from the legal provisions.

The property of the entire people is one of the major values protected by the socialist state, and its management, development and protection are regulated by laws that include provisions binding upon all working personnel. Deviations from those provisions regardless of their nature, whether felonies, misdemeanors, administrative, or economic-financial, are violations of socialist legality.

Some still persist in the idea that violation of socialist legality is confined to the provisions whose violation is punishable as a felony or misdemeanor. That idea is harmful because violations of economic-financial provisions are not subject to criminal law but they can cause serious difficulties in the production process and in the operation of the new economic-financial mechanism, and they have bad effects upon implementation of the production plans and

consequently upon the growth of the national wealth that is produced by the workers' efforts. The session of the Political Executive Committee of the CPR Central Committee in April 1983 severely criticized the practices of supplying raw materials and materials without allotments, disregarding manufacturing plans, violating the consumption norms for raw materials, materials and energy, introducing manufacture of varieties without approval, delivering machine parts of unsuitable quality, and forming stockpiles of products without sales. These difficulties were considered to be to a great extent due to faulty organization, guidance and control on the part of the authorities who were supposed to provide for efficient production and to see that the legal standards were applied and strictly observed. The party leadership has required all these defects to be permanently eliminated from economic activity.

Economic democracy and workers self-management prohibit violation of the legal standards and require further development of every citizen's sense of responsibility as well as strengthened social order and discipline. They are incompatible with manifestations of disorder and anarchy and an irresponsible attitude toward the vital interests of society and of the entire Romanian people.

As the working conference on organizational and political-educational problems determined, even better results could have been obtained in the effort to carry out the provisions of the plan for socioeconomic development this year and in the first two years of the current five-year plan if the effort had been made on every job in all firmness and with a greater sense of responsibility to carry out the programs and decisions with strict observance of the laws, order and discipline in all activities. Disregarding the legal provisions, resorting to excuses of every kind for nonfulfillment of the plan and the assumed pledges, a weakened sense of responsibility, and being content to take refuge in drafting formal reports to cite all kinds of "difficulties" that prevented fulfillment of the tasks conflict with the freely accepted discipline of the Romanian working class and the revolutionary spirit that should characterize the man of Romanian society.

Strengthened legality also has a highly important part to play in the act of management. The party's measures to improve scientific social organization and management, to promote the collective forms of management, to enhance workers revolutionary democracy, and to develop self-management have strengthened the inherent ties between the political and legal elements in management of the social processes with strict observance of the law.

As the party secretary general pointed out at the recent working conference on organizational and political-educational problems, "Good management requires knowledge and very consistent application of the party's decisions and the laws of the land." In this profoundly revolutionary view, application and observance of the party's decisions and the laws of the land in management are indispensable to the success of the programs for socioeconomic development.

Strict observance of the legal standards for exercise of control in all socioeconomic activities is also of major importance to the efficiency of management, and there are also some defects in this area. For instance it is not always sufficiently understood that tightening control on all levels and in all levels serves to strengthen legality. A regular, exacting control is a highly

effective way to prevent legal violations and negligent organization and execution of production and economic activity, and to eliminate any defects.

Some units, departments or central institutions as well as collective management bodies are still deficient in their assimilation and thorough knowledge of the laws of the land and in taking the particular steps needed to enforce them. At times the laws are studied superficially and not properly presented, so that their importance to accurate fulfillment of the economic units' plan tasks is not fully understood. Legal propaganda and explanation of the laws must be based upon the requirements of every work place. But some units persist in the harmful practice of neglecting firm and specific law enforcement measures and incompletely serving the purpose of the legal standards, especially the economic-financial ones, which directly affect the results of productive activity.

In the CPR's view, which was confirmed at the recent working conference on organizational and political-educational problems, the operation of the workers democratic state should be based upon the strictest discipline, order and sense of responsibility on the part of all party and state organs and organizations. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "But we must say frankly that not all Romanian party and state organs study the laws thoroughly, to say nothing of understanding and taking firm action to enforce them." That is why the party secretary general pointed out that every unit must make the effort to thoroughly and systematically organize the best implementation of the laws and decisions and of all operational plans and programs.

The revolutionary spirit that should be displayed in any citizen's activity regardless of his job calls for a progressive political attitude, manifested in mastery and observance of the legal standards, wherein the general interests of society and the entire people are placed before anything.

In this revolutionary view, it is a major aim of political-educational work to intensify indoctrination for the purpose of generalizing a high socialist legal awareness such that all citizens' strict observance, out of conviction, of the laws and decisions and of order and discipline in socialist society will become an essential way of advancing every worker's freedom and dignity within the workers revolutionary democracy.

Displaying their profound loyalty to the party's entire domestic and foreign policy, the prosecutors are taking firm revolutionary action in the spirit of the important principles and directions in Nicolae Ceausescu's masterly speech at the conference on organizational and political-educational problems, in staunch defense of the people's revolutionary gains, the nation's independence and sovereignty and the social and state order, and on behalf of a climate of order and discipline, protection and development of public property, defense of the citizens' legitimate rights and interests, and strict observance of socialist legislation and the principles of equity, justice and humanism.

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## IMPORTANCE OF WORKER SELF-MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 10 Sep 83 pp 12-15

[Article by Haralambie Ene: "Self-Management in the Romanian Democratic System"]

[Text] The CPR is specially emphasizing development of socialist democracy and intensified worker self-management in the process of building the new order. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Mangalia Working Conference on Problems of Organizational and Political-Educational Work, "The party has the great responsibility of securing the efficient operation of the entire system of Romanian workers revolutionary democracy. From the state organs and national congresses and bodies to the workers councils and general assemblies, all of which should be under the party's guidance, the harmonious operation of all these organs of workers democracy must be secured!"

As we know the Plenum of the CPR Central Committee of 29-30 June 1983 unanimously approved the program and the decision on firm application of the principles of worker self-management and self-administration, improvement of the economic-financial mechanism and of the system for payment for work, and pay raises in this five-year plan. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "The approved decisions to this effect are intended to develop worker self-management more intensively and to increase the responsibility of the general assemblies and workers councils as collective management organs, thereby improving the legal system concerning the workers' capacity as owners of a part of the entire people's common property." (1)

The CPR's consistent emphasis upon development of worker self-management in all socioeconomic activity has profound theoretical-ideological and practical motivations and reflects the necessities imposed by the nature of the new order, since it is an objective requirement of the dialectical development of this society in the sense of enhancing its effectiveness and performance and asserting its superiority more and more emphatically. That superiority is particularly emphasized by the new political, economic, social, material and cultural conditions under which the workers are enabled to operate and by the capacity of all the subsystems to fulfill their internal potentials. Worker self-management reflects precisely these new conditions and constitutes, on the functional level

as well, the objectively necessary form required by the construction of socialist society in the light of the transition to communism.

The principle of self-management, as the essence of revolutionary workers democracy, took form in Romania at the very beginning of construction of the new order and was deeply involved in its objectives. Its theoretical foundations were not made of whole cloth but existed in the very nature of the socialist revolution. Of course in a certain period of socialist construction forms of one-man management were used in coordination with collective forms, and later on, when the workers' experience was enhanced, a definite shift was made to promotion of collective management and application of the principle of worker self-management.

As we know, the nature of socialist ownership of the production means is the main factor on which practical application of this principle is based. Socialist ownership makes the worker a collective partner associated in any activity on an equal basis, so that in regard to the act of management as well he appears to the same extent as an equal partner and as a factor for social creativeness and historical progress. The socialist nature of ownership involves the worker not as an "employee" of an enterprise to which he gives his working power in return, but as an element with full rights as an owner and manager, who is expected to meet more and more efficiently the requirements of society and the social function that the socioeconomic unit, and consequently he, has assumed. Thus the form of ownership characteristic of the socialist order makes the advancement of the self-management system appear as an objectively determined phenomenon and a historically necessary process. The worker's new threefold capacity as owner, producer and beneficiary is regularly and logically developed on the basis of socialist ownership.

Development of the revolutionary awareness of the working class and of its capacity to understand the laws of social development more profoundly and improvement of its political, professional, scientific and cultural training are other factors permitting increasingly extensive advancement of the forms of worker self management. We have a numerous working class, formed largely in the years of socialism, that has amply proved its ability to solve the most complicated problems of economic activity and can manage socioeconomic activity jointly with the new peasantry and the intelligentsia that has risen from the ranks of the working people. Of course the various forms of worker participation in management that were already developed also constituted an effective educational process.

A no less important factor for promotion of self-management in Romania is the continued development of socialist democracy in preparation for the transition to "achievement of the higher, communist form of social management by the masses and to creation of history by the people according to their own will," as it says in the CPR Program. (2) The dialectical process of communist construction requires preparation now of forms that can prepare the workers for the future demands of management and of the socioeconomic units, which will operate democratically and independently in the spirit of "a true communist self-management." (3) It is also an objective requirement that the forms characteristic of a future historical stage shall have their seeds in the previous stage, wherein the specific framework for applying the principles of the future stage is verified.



The continued expansion of socialist democracy, very graphically reflected by the achievement of self-management, proves the superiority of socialist society over the other kinds of societies by promoting the forms of self-government by the workers themselves. As a principle of scientific management of socialist society, worker self-management is distinguished primarily by its content of political principle in direct relation to the basic values of the new order and to the prospective advancement of the workers' interests. From this standpoint the application of the particular forms that implement the worker self-management principle is intended to enhance the working class' role in the whole process of social management, to strengthen the role of the Communist Party and its organizations in management of all aspects of socioeconomic activity, to further develop workers democracy by expanding the collective character of management in all activities, to completely fulfill the workers' personalities by directly involving them not only as producers but also as participants in socioeconomic management, to release all the creative energies of the masses of workers as a basis for greater effectiveness, and to heighten the workers' sense of responsibility through their direct participation in making the decisions they will carry out like their own decisions.

This particular content of self-management demonstrates its primarily political character, with profound effects upon the revolutionary role of the working class and its party and upon the personalities of the workers as future builders of communism. The self-management principle also has broad ideological and educational implications. Moreover, thanks to its polyvalent character, this principle is also a factor for rationalizing all social activity, since it also has a pronounced functional character particularly apparent in the socioeconomic units' activity because of the economic-financial mechanism that it makes operational. While the political aspect underscores the revolutionary, class character of Romanian social development, the economic aspect entails development of the functional character of all socioeconomic activity, lays the foundations of a new stage of effectiveness, and constitutes an important step toward a new quality of work in all fields.

As the CPR points out, self-management is expected to meet the more and more acute need for all activity to be conducted on the level of socioeconomic performances devoid of any manifestations of bureaucratic inertia and for the operational level of all component subsystems to rise and thus meet the needs of society as well as possible. This requires more intensive use of the managed systems internal forces, elimination of petty supervision, and discovery of the internal resources of the socioeconomic units contributing to the development of their own creativeness and their ability to solve their own problems independently and to meet the needs and functions rapidly that are generated by social development.

And so in the present stage, when the number and complexity of the systems and subsystems within Romanian socialist society have increased, and when the diversification and volume of the socioeconomic activities they perform are greater than ever, the problems of determining functional connections and enhancing the order and flexibility of the structures that involve these necessarily correlated activities are the subjects of increasingly pronounced practical importance. In fact, the need to act functionally and to meet the diversified requirements of society efficiently and the need for each individual workers collective to

perform its social function is no mere theoretical speculation but a real and acute necessity of construction of the fully developed socialist society.

The CPR's efforts to implement self-management and to improve the performance and effectiveness of managerial activity is concentrated on securing the capacity of all managed systems and of all Romanian society to achieve a certain internal order and to construct certain organizational structures more suited to the present requirements, on the basis of which they will operate better in the sense that the mechanism of social organization will be able to serve the intended purpose without a heavy consumption of time, resources and material effort. In expressing this very aim, the CPR Program stresses the fact that "adequate organization and provision for the perfect operation of all activities" are some of the most important directions in which the party will act to secure a scientific social management. (4)

Of course the emphasis placed by the theory of scientific management of socialist society and by the CPR documents upon the need to develop the functional quality of socioeconomic activity and the need for every socioeconomic unit to perform its social function as a *sine qua non* for evaluating its effectiveness by no means indicates orientation of this theory toward narrow functionalism. The party proceeds from analysis of the objective social requirements which, in the historical and dialectical-materialist conception, are basic to the existence of human society in the sense that Marx and Engels gave them, in "German Ideology," of the material substantiation of the existence of any society, pointing out that "The first historical act is ... production of material life itself." In demonstrating how the need of the act of production arises and the linkage of men's socioeconomic activities in a close collective functional integration, the founders of Marxism also pointed out that "The second fact is that the first satisfied need itself, the action of satisfying it, and the instrument acquired for that satisfaction lead to new necessities, and this creation of new necessities is the first historical act." (5)

The materialist explanation of social existence begins by pointing out these objective needs of man and society that must be satisfied and the ordered and integrated relational structure that is functionally related to the satisfaction of these needs, a structure that people involuntarily enter in the course of productive activity. In this sense all social existence is composed of a multitude of activities so organized and structured that each one performs a certain objectively determined function. Since the materially productive activity of individuals is oriented, within organized society, toward the performance of final functions, it is understandable why the effort is always made to improve the performance and effectiveness of the activity of all elements participating in that productive process.

Of course in capitalist society, given the exploiting nature of the system, these essentially social functions are not performed equitably because there the structure of production relations, the operational organizational structures, and society as a whole are "functional" for the values of an order divided into antagonistic classes but they are not functional for the general-human values and especially not for those who produce the material goods, which fact also generates the revolutionary processes. But in socialist society, as a product of the revolutionary act intended to make a radical change on the human level both from

the ethical and social standpoint of full development of the human personality and from the economic standpoint of satisfying the material requirements for that development, it is especially necessary to emphasize the need of performance of the objective functions of every sector of society.

Improvement of the performance of the social systems by implementing the self-management principle is intended not only to make the action generally efficient but particularly to set up a mechanism that will cause the socioeconomic units to keep seeking the means of making themselves as functional and efficient as possible for society. These requirements are served by the following specific ways of implementing self-management: by bringing the decision close to the production base, increasing the autonomy of the socioeconomic units, and strengthening their functions of deciding upon their own problems, thus restricting the possibility of petty supervision and developing their ability to resolve the particular problems confronting them more adequately, with all the good effects of that upon their performance and effectiveness; by encouraging their own efforts, permitting more intensive use, in the spirit of efficiency, of all internal reserves and of the technical and human capacities that sometimes remained incompletely utilized; by enhancing the operational quality of management and decision-making on the unit level and accelerating the reaction to the demands made by the other, collaborating systems, thus providing a very good basis for improving performance and eradicating persistent instances of inertia; by emphasizing the units' dependence upon the social requirements and the authorities, by which the shortcomings were sometimes explained; and by instituting a more complete correlation between activities and results, with better measurement of the ratio between efforts and effects, the latter being more clearly individualized and made dependent upon the social function society has assigned the given unit.

These new relationships developed by application of the worker self-management principle are aimed at better use of the units' internal forces and release of their own resources by stimulating their own creativeness and each unit's ability to solve its problems independently and to respond more rapidly to the needs and functions that society presents. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, these guidelines are intended "to place all socioeconomic units' management upon a new basis, on the principle of self-management and self-administration, requiring each unit and workers collective to bear the direct responsibility for the resources and goods entrusted it by society as a part of the entire people's property." (6)

In order to make the principles of self-management and of the working masses' effective participation in decision-making operational and more efficient, a new economic-financial mechanism was developed and implemented that constitutes the necessary factor of an objective tie between the political aspect of the principle and its functional, effectual aspect. As the party secretary general pointed out, it is actually a matter of "raising the economic-financial mechanism to the developmental level of the new forms of collective management" (7) and of giving the management of all socioeconomic activities a uniform system based on mass participation in decision-making and made operational by a mechanism capable of exploiting the potentials for effectiveness that the principle contains.

The approval by the Plenum of the CPR Central Committee of June 1983 and the Grand National Assembly of the Program and Law on Firm Application of the Principles of Worker Self-Management and Self-Administration, Improvement of the

Economic-Financial Mechanism and of the System for Payment for Work, and Pay Raises in this five-year plan brought about the creation of the necessary operational resources for the self-management principle to yield the full measure of its potentials for efficient performance. As it should be applied in view of the provisions of the said program, the self-management principle entails workers' more extensive participation in decision-making, which is a new interpretation of their content and purpose, the need for them arising from the policy of greater efficiency and responsibility.

This mechanism making self-management operational is based on the idea (not invariably accepted in its spirit and essence, perhaps because of the difficulty of identifying models wherein it has operated in the past) that it is not society that provides the financing for the socioeconomic units' activity but their collectives, who use part of the funds and resources obtained out of the national wealth and therefore must operate so as to provide by their own efforts for repayment of the production costs and also to make the profit for society that is essential to its development. Accordingly the decisions made in the course of self-management are expected to support the viability of the respective unit and, cumulatively on the general social level, the program of society as a whole. The management will accordingly pursue a high functional quality and efficiency more consistently, in that it will be more objectively induced to make decisions that will keep it in line with the requirements of the economic laws, realizing that both the unit's and the individual incomes depend entirely upon effort. This effort must take the form of better discipline and order and the workers collective's interest in producing what is really essential to society, that is useful economic values. This requires elimination of any manifestations of indifference and disinterest, better adjustment to the social needs, and promptness or, in a word, efficient performance.

The economic-financial dynamism and the new provisions of the Program To Apply the Principles of Self-Management and Self-Administration provide the ways and means needed to perform that activity. As an operational instrument, the mechanism to draft the plan from the bottom, from the directly productive system, is making a major contribution to this end. In that way the unit in question can better respond, from the functional standpoint, to the social needs it is expected to meet.

Another important lever is compiling the internal budget (of incomes and outlays) down to the levels of the section and sectors, whereby the results can be better checked. In the plan the new program is advancing, the budget is no longer a mere balance but a real instrument for self-financing of the activity performed, that is for covering the internal outlays, restoring the funds received to society, the unit's participation in forming the centralized funds, providing its own developmental funds, and finally for forming the funds for the material incentive of the workers collective. Thus the whole activity is more dependent on the results of the internal effort, and the respective units' management is objectively induced to maximize those results, to look for ways of increasing this internal effort, and to take every means of improving performance to meet the social requirements. Moreover promotion of a series of effectiveness indicators capable of measuring the results more accurately, as well as profit-sharing and the factors analyzed above, constitute the code of functions and new relationships serving to encourage the socioeconomic units to meet the social needs more completely and correlating the unit's real capacity with its social function.

By providing new instruments for making the principles of worker self-management and self-administration operational, the program bears out the idea that all activity in units will be based on generalized use of the overall contract system, permitting incomes solely from internal effort. The pledge-contract, concluded between the state as general administrator of the entire people's property and the workers collectives in each enterprise, as well as the individual pledge, whereby each worker assumes responsibilities for management of the unit's property, are also new levers of socioeconomic activity that are expected to raise the level of performance necessarily required by the worker self-management principle.

The principles of worker self-management and self-administration, made operational by an appropriate mechanism governing relations between a unit and its social function, can have good possibilities for improving the performance of the socioeconomic activity and the efficiency of management mainly by stimulating the effort and the interest in developing internal initiative and creativeness.

These structural improvements in the management process are based on the fundamental idea that efficiency is primarily determined by the possibility of exploiting the internal capacities for analyzing and resolving the problems that confront each unit and of exploiting the creative potential of the workers engaged in the productive process. In this way the enterprise's main efforts will be concentrated on pursuing the results of efficiency and meeting society's demands upon each individual unit, objectively determining the trend toward an effective performance and efficiency. In this way the socioeconomic units' managements, so far from being tempted try excuses or postponements or to take advantage of formal aspects, will have a greater interest in looking for the best ways to qualify with better performances in the productive process in order to obtain their means of subsistence. Of course it will be much more difficult now to substitute excuses for work and quite impossible to make new demands on society instead of giving it the results of work. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Plenum of the CPR Central Committee of 29-30 June 1983, "The principle of 'Neither work without bread nor bread without work' will be consistently applied. No one in socialist society can or should live without work or on another's work. Those who work shall receive unlimited incomes if they are the results of the work performed!"

In order to achieve a turning point in socioeconomic activity and a new quality of work, the factors that are being emphasized are the initiative of the collective management organ and all workers, the internal effort, and the entire collective's work, where the center of analysis of the unit's problems and the source of their solution normally lie. Worker self-management and self-administration, closer correlation of the socioeconomic units' activity with society's real needs, measurement of the units' results according to the amount of their own effort, and encouragement of initiative are the essential factors for improvement of the performance and efficiency of the workers revolutionary democracy. Consistent application of the principles of worker self-management and self-administration and the new economic-financial mechanism with its recent improvements are meeting the needs of socialist society by further improving the efficiency of Romanian socioeconomic units.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Plenum of the CPR Central Committee of 29-30 June 1983," Political Publishing House /PPH/, p 7.
2. "CPR Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism," PPH, 1975, p 171.
3. Ibidem, p 172.
4. Ibidem, p 108.
5. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," Vol 3. PPH, 1962 2d ed, p 29.
6. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 16, PPH, 1979, pp 118-119.
7. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., Vol 15, PPH, 1978, p 524.

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## ACHIVEMENTS OF 'UNITY 83' MANEUVERS APPRAISED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1707, 18 Sep 83 pp 16-17

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "The Public Hour of Defense"]

[Text] Two days before the beginning of the maneuvers in eastern Macedonia, when the pilots of the "Gazelle" armed helicopters hit four tanks with four "Malyutka" guided missiles, Generals Petar Gracanin and Lambel Mihajlovski turned to Air Force General Slobodan Alagic. The latter only smiled discreetly, having known in advance what his people would be able to do.

The same thing also happened at the "Unity-83" exercise itself, which was completed 3 days ago in a rocky area in eastern Macedonia, somewhere in Ovce Polje and Krivolak. With their backs to the Vardar, the motorized infantry and tanks moved from there to the attack, while at the same time aircraft and helicopters "softened up" the enemy positions. Thus for several days 22,000 soldiers, through synchronized action, demonstrated what the striking power of our army is like in attack and defense.

At the same time, from Norway to Turkey, an exercise is under way with 300,000 soldiers of the NATO Pact, including 16,000 American specialists who will be transferred by aircraft to Europe and participate immediately in the "battle." The Warsaw Pact has just completed a series of maneuvers and is now catching its breath before the next round. Although all maneuvers are similar in the military sense, there are nevertheless great differences among them. Specifically, even at the time of the announcement of this exercise, our representatives stressed that Yugoslavia was exercising its defensive forces "for itself" and not "against others." Consequently, foreign observers were invited to the maneuvers, without fear of their making careful assessments of the degree of training of units and the quality of the weapons. Of those invited, only the Albanian government spoke up, and refused the invitation to send its observers to our exercise, stressing that it was causing "tension and danger for neighboring countries."

The range in Krivolak where the exercise was held, however, is located in a triangle 100-200 kilometers away from the neighboring borders. In any case,

the decision to hold the maneuvers in this area was not made because of any daily necessity, nor was the exercise prepared in order to demonstrate the strength of our army in the vicinity of the border of any of our neighbors. It is simply that large-scale maneuvers have been conducted in Serbia (1949), Slavonia (1953), Slovenia and Croatia (1971), and in Sandzak (1976), and these latest ones, logically, in Macedonia.

#### Novelties Before the Guests

This year's maneuvers are significant for two reasons. First, it is only in exercises of this scope that it is possible to verify the degree of training for joint actions of all types by our army and the territorial and partisan units.

Second, in spite of the presence of foreign observers, the leadership of the army decided that "Unity-83" would display in public for the first time the latest equipment and weapons that have been introduced into regular use in the last year or two. The greatest surprise for all those present was the appearance of numerous T-72 tanks, which are replacing older models in our armored units.

We are producing this tank under a Soviet license, and in the opinion of western military experts, the T-72 is currently one of the three best armor units in the world. It is equipped with a 125-mm gun and a diesel engine that permits it a speed of 80 km per hour. It weighs 41 tons, and its three-member crew is protected by the most modern "sandwich-armor," which can withstand the majority of antitank weapons. It is equipped with a laser range-finder and with two machineguns. Our experts state that the "72" will substantially raise the quality of armored units, and we will use them right up until the beginning of the announced production of domestic tanks.

New "tank hunters" were behind these armored units during the exercise. This is a completely new weapon of domestic manufacture, armed with guided antitank missiles. At the top of their turret are six missiles on launchers, with several times as many missiles in their combat inventory. Behind these came armored wheeled transport vehicles, also of domestic production, in the turrets of which were installed the well-known three-barreled 20-mm guns with electronic and optical sights for hitting low-flying aircraft and helicopters. This is a very fast, light, and agile weapon for protecting armored units and infantry from an attack from the air.

The mechanized infantry was transferred in the new M-80 armored transporter. This is a vehicle weighing 13 tons, which can travel over water without prior preparations. It is equipped with two missiles for fighting against tanks, and a 20-mm automatic gun; for fighting against infantry, it uses a 7.62 mm machinegun. In addition to the crew, it carries a full infantry squad, which is protected in battle from gunfire, grenades, radiation, and the effects of chemical weapons.

The "queen of battle," the infantry, appeared with new sniper guns, rifle machine guns, hand bombs, and an improved old bazooka for fighting against tanks. The greatest interest was aroused by the new "Zolja" bazooka. This



infantry weapon is used for fighting against tanks, and is made on the principle of "fire and throw." In fact, the missile is packed in a launcher that is thrown away after firing. Another bazooka, "Osa," is used against tanks at great distances (about 600 meters) and is filled with missiles several times.

The most effective were the flights by several "Gazelle" helicopters which we produce under a French license, but whose equipment and armament for anti-armor combat is an original Yugoslav solution. Exceptionally mobile, these helicopters, with a maximum speed of 300 km per hour, are armed with four antitank missiles and two self-guided missiles for fighting against aircraft. The observers were impressed by the way in which the "Gazelles," "riding" up the hills themselves, appeared above the tanks and hit them with almost 100-percent accuracy from two kilometers away.

In addition to the already well-known MiG-21's of a new type, there were the domestic "Orao" and G-4 aircraft, equipped with Viper turbojet engines of British origin.

Thus, this exercise was also transformed into a sort of exhibition of Yugoslav armament and its value.

#### For Us--Our Weapons

From 1960 to 1970 the army spent four dinars for every dinar earned by exports. In the last 5-year period, however, this ratio was approximately 3 to 1 in favor of domestic production. This, however, is only part of the story of how much our society sets aside for military requirements. From 1976 to 1980 5.39 percent of the national income was allocated for financing the army, instead of 6.17 percent, as was stipulated by the social plan. In the first 2 years of the current medium-term plan, 4.79 percent of the national income was allocated.

The funds for financing the JNA Yugoslav National Army, amounting to 150,681.2 million dinars, are 61 percent of the total budget of the Federation projected for 1983. It was planned that more than a fourth of the funds available to the armed forces this year would be allocated for purchasing weapons and military equipment. The foreign exchange funds for the needs of the JNA are planned to be about \$559 million. This is 13.2 percent less than the plan last year.

According to the data of the International Institute for Strategic Research in London, the increase in expenditures for military requirements grew at the following rates in the last 6 years: 294 percent in Bulgaria, 245 percent in Hungary, 212 percent in Austria, 189 percent in Italy, 149 percent in Greece, an unknown amount in Romania, and 142 percent in Yugoslavia. In any case, the general attitude is that within the framework of reduced funds for defense needs, one should not reduce the portion intended for weapons and military equipment, nor should the funds planned for technical modernization be shifted into other areas of expenditure. The prevailing position is that in an international situation like this, we cannot permit our armed forces to lag behind technically. Admittedly, we have spoken for a long time

in Yugoslavia about the absolute predominance of the human factor over the technical one. All indications are, however, that in the future the delicate balance between these two factors will be taken into account.

What is a valuable experience for us from the majority of modern wars is that the orientation toward the production of one's own weapons is the only correct one--at least in most cases. Today we are cooperating in the military area with about 60 countries, and our exports of weapons and equipment, in volume, are over a fourth of the total Yugoslav exports to the nonaligned and developing countries. In any case, in our units, depending on the type and the formation, the percentage of domestic weapons ranges from 70 to 100 percent.

The latest exercise, "Unity-83," has obviously shown that in many ways our armed forces are on the threshold of a transition to a qualitatively new period in their development. Unfortunately, this is inevitable in the modern world, and the price that we have to pay for peaceful borders. Consequently, even in an economic situation like this one, there has been no dilemma over whether to enhance our defensive forces or not.

9909

CSO: 2800/29

DECLINING NUMBER OF WORKERS IN SLOVENIAN LC

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 7 Oct 83 p 7

/Article by Nina Komparic, "Essential Political Question"/

/Excerpt/ Only 1 year after the congress of Slovenian communists, the Commission of the CC Presidium of the Slovenian LC for organization, development, manpower policy and training decided to examine more thoroughly the movement and structure of the membership of the Slovenian LC and formed a special work group which has assessed such movement on the basis of a number of data.

It is characteristic that enrollment in the Slovenian LC has been halved during the last 3 years. In 1980, the membership still increased by 7,987 members, or 6.2 percent; in 1981, 3,899 new members were accepted, and in the first 6 months of this year only 1,488. At the same time, 1,310 members have been expelled, deleted, or have left the Slovenian LC. In this way, the membership of the LCS has in fact increased by only 178 members and their total number is 126,437.

The information that 40 communal organizations have fewer members now than at the end of last year demands a more thorough analysis of the movement and structure of the membership, not only at the level of the Central Committee of the Slovenian LC, but especially in the organizations of those communes where the decline has been registered.

The structure of the membership of the LC Slovenia is not satisfactory either. The most numerous group in the LCS are members between 28 and 35 years of age, while in the earlier period members under 27 were the dominant group. This, however, is not worrisome because these are the most vital categories. In the LC of Slovenia, 83.4 percent of members are under 40, which is favorable.

Considerably more attention must be paid to the appraisal of the reduction of the number of workers in the LCS. They are indeed the strongest socioprofessional group and represent 29.7 percent of members. However, this percentage point is lower than the average percentage of workers in the LCY (31 percent), and their participation in the membership--after the rise of 1981, when there were 30.5 percent of them--has been steadily declining. A detailed analysis of this development is the more important as all the party documents state that we are committed to obtain a workers majority, while we are in fact moving away from

it. Among the newly-accepted members of the LCS in the first 6 months of this year, workers represent only 25.7 percent. What is the cause?

Some appraisal made so far put in the first place the fact that the worker, although the basic social documents warrant it, still does not play the decisive role in the process of production, in the expanded reproduction, or in the decisionmaking about the total income. The managerial-professional and executive-administrative structures still have the decisive influence on these issues. If we also take into account the slow pace of the implementation of the delegate system, and the weaknesses, inconsistencies and shortcomings that appear in our society, it is obvious that they result in a diminished workers interest in the membership in the LC.

Causes of the unsatisfactory social and class structure of the LCS also consist in the inappropriate policy of recruiting new LC members. Basic organizations of the LC, especially in the production OOURs, in industry, mining, agriculture and forestry obviously pay too little attention to the question of accepting new members in the LC. There should be a majority of blue-collar workers in these sectors, yet the development is exactly the opposite: in one-fourth of the basic organizations of the LC, management and administrative workers predominate.

The data also indicate very vividly that there are essentially fewer workers in the management positions in the communal organizations of the LCS than in the membership of the LCS. Thus there are barely 20.6 percent of workers in communal committees, and in their presidiums only 14.5 percent, while the groups of management workers are markedly strong. Their participation in communal committees is 20 percent and in the presidiums even 25 percent, although they represent only 7 percent of the total structure of the membership. It is clear that such manpower policy in the LC organs can hardly assert authentic working class interests.

12455

CSO: 2800/57

INJUSTICE AGAINST SERBIAN ENGINEER REPORTED

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 23 Sep 83 p 7

/Article by Mirko Cupic: "Comrade Available"/

/Text/ Mining engineer Vesko Batalovic, specialized in machinery and electrical technology, employed at the work organization Kisnica and Novo Brdo Mines is no longer a "promising" specialist who was relied on until yesterday. This young man who has a unique professional specialization in this organization will become "available" after the 10-year experience in the work organization which schooled him. What has changed overnight?

After the initial preparatory stage, Vesko Batalovic successfully "climbed" from lower to higher managerial positions. In the last 8 years he was the technical manager of maintenance of mechanical equipment for surface mining, manager of mechanization in the OOUR Ajvalija and Kisnica, chief of the work unit EMO in the OOUR Maintenance and Transportation, and acting technical director of the same OOUR. Everything was all right until mid-January of this year, when competition was announced for the selection and appointment of the director and technical director of the OOUR. While the competition was on, the director of the work organization Nazmi Mustafa, with agreement of a number of management personnel, decided beforehand which candidates will compete for these management positions. According to this distribution of positions, Vesko Batalovic was supposed to become the technical director of the OOUR.

"I thought that this jeopardized the basic principle of the competition, and I did not approve of selecting candidates in advance, which closes the door to candidates from other areas. The candidate for the director of the OOUR, Ali Lodja, who was later appointed to this position, did not at the time fulfill the requirements of the competition and I decided to compete myself. I suffered the consequences," Batalovic said.

When the competition was closed, the presidency of the OOSK OOUR met and tried to convince Batalovic to abstain from competing for the position of the director. When they did not succeed, they started a defamation campaign directed against the behavior and performance of this man who was till yesterday regarded as a promising specialist. It was said that he wanted to become the director in order to leave Kosovo sooner and move easily. Obviously, some people predestined him for emigration. This party panel should have dealt more with the candidates for

the position of director, instead of opening the "Batalovic case" and leaving a delicate question of personnel policy to the competition commission. At the first meeting, which was also attended by the SO delegates, it was decided to postpone the election of the director because, allegedly, none of the candidates satisfied the requirements.

"This was done so that Ali Lodja could in the meantime take the professional exam. He did it. At its second meeting, the competition commission proposed him for the management position, and the workers council confirmed the selection. To make it more ironical, although I did not compete, I was appointed acting technical director. The competition requirements were identical for both these positions, and I wonder how it can be that I do not meet the requirements for the OOUR director but can be acting technical director. Afterwards few people contacted me, my employment status is still unresolved, and I do not participate sufficiently in the life and work of the OOUR. Rejection and isolation have become unbearable," Batalovic said.

Batalovic says that every remark of his met a sharp reaction, weaknesses he pointed out were ignored, and the perceived problems were piling up. The basic organization of the LC finally met toward the end of June, and its agenda was "the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from the OOUR from 1981 to 1983." However, the meeting took another course. The starting point for the discussion was Batalovic's "deviation" from the LCY line. It was said in support of this allegation that he had said at an earlier meeting that the choice of Albanians to managing positions at any cost is a nationalist policy, which offended the director of the Work Organization. It was said that the roots of his deviation from the LCY line are deep, that he is poor as a worker and expert. He was punished with a party admonition.

The painful atmosphere of this meeting was made even more painful by the fact that 10 communists of Albanian nationality and 5 communists of Serbian nationality attended that meeting, and that they were openly divided along nationality lines. It is unacceptable indeed that at the present political moment all the present communists of Albanian nationality vote for the punishment of Batalovic, and all the attending Serbs against the punishment. Such a behavior of communists has made the political atmosphere even worse, and this has been reflected on all the relations in this OOUR. Thus the question: If the engineer Batalovic is really so guilty, is not the party disciplinary measure too mild?

Former chairman of the OOSK Presidium and labor union chairman Vlado Mladenovic does not think so. In his opinion, "There is no objection to the work and behavior of the engineer Vesko Batalovic." The new chairman of the OOUR Ali Lodja also expresses the opinion that there is no ground for such a political qualification, although they differ in some positions.

"It seems to me that he has exaggerated this time. Some of his accusations are groundless, as we have established, but we cannot deny his professional capacity," said the director of the OOUR, Ali Lodja.

"Sociopolitical structures agreed to put the candidate selected in advance in the position of the director of the OOUR, and this was clear to everybody.

Batalovic opposed such an attitude of ours, offended the director of the work organization, stated some untruths which I cannot remember right now, and he was justifiably punished for that. He is unsuitable. Positions are clear. I do not know what he will do. He is presently on vacation, but I believe that he will be available to the work organization," the chairman of the presidium of the OOSK, Hasim Bitici, said.

And what then?

12455

CSO: 2800/57

YUGOSLAVIA

EX-COMINFORMIST EMIGRE DISCUSSES BOOKS, EXPERIENCES

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17, 24 Sep 83 SEDAM DANA supplement

/Article by Salih Zvizdic/

/17 Sep 83 pp 14-15/

/Text/ Slobodan P. Ikevic, the author of the book, "Strasno budjenje" /Terrible Awakening/-- in which he describes his sufferings after accepting the Cominform's resolution and joining the "healthy forces" of the workers' movement--has prepared a new book entitled "Suocavanje" /Confrontation/. In it he describes the sobering period after he realized that he had become a weapon in foreign hands.

Slobodan Pauljevic, the author of the book, "Strasno budjenje," in which he described the drama of his life, which began on 19 December 1948 when he illegally crossed the Rumanian border near Bela Crkva. "At first," he says, "I believed more in the resolution of the Cominform than in my own party."

He joined the "healthy forces" in that country, but several years later he was disappointed, having seen that the monstrous political and police apparatus by which Stalin ruled was not imbued with "real ideas for the defense of socialism," but rather with the wish for hegemony over the CPY and Yugoslavia. Rumania at that time was under the powerful influence of Stalin and the Cominform (the Cominform's center was located in Rumania then). Disappointment followed euphoria. Pauljevic lived through pressure and jail. They induced him to give false testimony. Finally came the "horrible awakening" and a sobering period.

The book, "Strasno budjenje," was published by the Otakar Kersovani publishing house in Rijeka at the end of last year. It was sold out, although it had practically no advertising. Now Slobodan Pauljevic has written a sequel to the book entitled "Suocavanje," which is offered by the same publishing house. In this second book, which is really the logical continuation of the first, Pauljevic describes his second trip



to Yugoslavia, where he came in March 1956, conscious of the fact that he would immediately be jailed and condemned, because shortly before setting out, he was informed of this in an illegal meeting at the Yugoslav embassy in Bucharest.

"'Suocavanje' is really me meeting with my true self, with the reality of life in the homeland. It is my sobering up after a deep political and psychological disappointment and collapse. No one in my own country welcomed me with open arms, nor did I expect that. From the border I came right into the hands of the militia and the UDB. After that followed interrogation, trial and jail in Zabela near Pozarevac. Goli Otok followed soon afterwards. After being released, I found employment in the municipal water-supply system in Belgrade."

We will attempt to describe briefly the path of life followed by this man, who with his already-published book and the one he intends to publish, has contributed to the unmasking of the untenable Stalinist methods of political and state relations between socialist countries. In the case of Yugoslavia these relations ultimately were condemned by history. In our conversation, we concentrated on details not mentioned in the first book, but related to the main questions in the second. We will also provide, for the first time, part of this man's biography.

Slobodan Pauljevic was born in 1914 in Bela Crkva to a working class family. His father, as a soldier of the one-time Austro-Hungarian army, was in Russia up until 1922, because in 1918 he joined the Soviet revolutionaries, and was persecuted as a "bolshevik" between the wars. Slobodan Pauljevic was a 17-year-old student in the seventh form in gymnasium, when in July 1941 he was accepted into SKOJ. He joined the CPY 3 years later. He spent the entire occupation in liberated territory in the intelligence service of the Fourth Southern Banat Detachment. On 2 October 1944, the day after the liberation of Bela Crkva, he was named as chief of the regional Department of National Defense (OZN). In summer 1945 he moved to Belgrade and became a lieutenant of the special detachment of the Federal Administration of the OZN. As a member of this detachment and a man who was known for his participation in the National Liberation Struggle since 1941, on 19 December 1948 he illegally crossed the Nera River, the border between Yugoslavia and Rumania. With him was his wife, Vera, an employee of the then Federal Ministry of Industry (they left behind their one-year-old son with Vera's mother in their apartment in Belgrade). Two officers of the OZN also accompanied Pauljevic, Lazo Andric and Jozef Vojt (a Czech by nationality). Andric and Vojt remained in the USSR, but Vera returned to Yugoslavia with Slobodan. They were later divorced. Pauljevic's son, who as a baby remained in Belgrade, is now 35. The Pauljevics had a second son in Rumania. He is now 33 years of age and also lives in Belgrade.

/Question/ Nowhere in the book do you write what was the Special Detachment of the Federal OZN in which you worked.

/Answer/ The postwar period demanded such a unit. It was a group of young and decisive people, who were prepared for every mission, but

received only the most complex. In general we were not registered in the service of the OZN, and we had our own building, which was disguised as part of the Belgrade municipal housing section. We mainly dealt with groups of domestic renegades, other traitors and spies.

He opted for the Cominform's resolution, because as Pauljevic says, in 1948 he was deeply moved by a burning idea, which became dogma for him. Crossing the border, he was prepared to kill anyone who opposed him, and on that pitch dark snowy night he carried a cocked pistol and two grenades. The rest of the band was also ready to fight.

In Rumania they were first subjected to interrogation, because they were suspected of being Tito's spies, placed in the country. But the truth was soon verified. Slobodan Pauljevic, as an officer of the OZN, received special treatment. He told all he knew about the OZN and the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA), about the borders and border guards to the organs of the Rumanian Securitatea. Pauljevic participated in the organization of propaganda and spy services used against Yugoslavia. The Rumanian state security service illegally placed Yugoslav emigres as spies in our country in order to aid an "uprising of the healthy forces in Yugoslavia." Radonja Golubovic, the ambassador to Rumania at that time, opted for the Cominform and contacted the emigres, who numbered around a hundred in Rumania. Sometime at the beginning of 1949 Pero Popivoda, a general in the air force of the JNA of that time, arrived there on a military airplane (after he forced the pilot to turn from Belgrade for Bucharest). Some other officers were with the general. (Popivoda remained in the USSR, where he died, and his son was exiled to Siberia during the Stalin era).

Pauljevic spoke against the political and state leadership of Yugoslavia over Bucharest radio. Over the radio he also rejected his Certificate of 1941 ("After my return, I did not want any kind of pension based on the Certificate of 1941 and my participation in the National War of Liberation, because I wanted to punish myself. Now I receive a pension of 11,000 dinars, earned in the municipal water supply system of Belgrade.")

While in the service of the Cominform, Pauljevic slowly began to come to his senses. He began to realize that this was a different type of socialism, and not that about which he had dreamt and for which he had risked his life crossing state borders. The police organs of Rumania, a country which had ended its war against the USSR only on 23 July 1944, and had remained a monarchy up until December 1947, condemned him in 1949 of being a "Yugoslav spy" because they had learned subsequently that in 1944, hence while this state was still a monarchy, Pauljevic, as an officer of the OZN in Bela Crkva, had arrested chetniks along the Rumanian border and fought with members of the Rumanian fascist organizations, the Iron Guard. They blackmailed him in various ways into testifying against other Yugoslav emigres, accused of being Yugoslav spies. These people were not spies, but were criminals according to the Securitatea because they had begun to doubt the purity of the ideas which had brought them to Rumania. Pauljevic ended up in jail, where he remained for 8 months. After enduring torture in jail, he suffered a mental breakdown.

When in 1953 high Rumanian state functionaries such as Teohari Georgescu, minister of the interior, Ana Pauker, foreign minister, Vasili Luka, finance minister and others, were imprisoned, it became clear that the largest of all the staged Cominform trials was being readied. It was to be larger than those held in Tirana, Sofia, Prague, Warsaw and Budapest. Pauljevic was expected to be a witness against the accused. He was told in advance all which he was to say, and when he had done so, he would be freed and would receive a pension.

Pauljevic now suffered a total breakdown. ("All of this, not only the trial, all of this underhanded cheating, lying, falsehoods. They wanted me to testify against people whom I had never seen, nor knew anything about.")

In similar trials throughout the Cominform countries, all the accused confessed everything, but most of them were condemned to death anyway. It often happened that the witnesses received the same extreme punishment as the accused. Everything was staged in a dirty manner. Pauljevic concluded that Stalin had condemned "Tito's clique" using this logic of trumped-up charges, that he had condemned the Yugoslav peoples to deprive them of their independence. Pauljevic refused to testify, which provoked the anger of the political police in Rumania. Surprisingly, however, salvation appeared in the form of Stalin's death in March 1953, and the staged Bucharest trials never materialized.

For the emigres from Yugoslavia, however, things did not really change after Stalin's death. Blackmail and surveillance continued. Pauljevic was released from the Rumanian jail on 28 May 1953 and found employment in a factory on the other side of the Carpathians, where he performed the most difficult physical labor for slave wages and could barely afford food for himself, his wife and child, born to him there. This was his punishment for not obediently agreeing to testify in the stage trial, known as the "Crown" affair.

"When in 1955 Khrushchev returned from Belgrade, where he signed the famous Belgrade declaration, and where he held talks with Tito, he gave a speech in Bucharest in the great square in front of the foreign ministry. Then, he spoke about Tito and Yugoslavia quite differently than a Stalinist, he attacked Stalin, he criticized the Stalinist methods of convincing their own and other people. I was acquainted with Stalinism and the Cominform. I had experienced all this myself. Khrushchev had spoken the truth, and in reality it was worse. I felt humiliated, cheated and lost, because I, yes, had betrayed my country, my people, my principles. I believed Stalin more than Tito. I felt miserable."

This was the beginning of his persistent battle to return to Yugoslavia. He illegally entered into contact with our ambassador in Bucharest. It was dangerous to express publicly his wish to return. Other emigres, who did not want to return, because they feared punishment or were frightened by the Securitatea, were prepared to kill those who wanted to. Some emigres even paid for that with their lives.

Vujanovic was our ambassador in Bucharest at that time, but he refused to speak with Pauljevic. However, with his knowledge, one night Pauljevic came disguised to the embassy and met an employee of the embassy, Milutin Popovic (now retired in Belgrade and Pauljevic's friend). He said that he wanted to return. Good, he would ask Belgrade. Three days later the answer arrived that he could have the travel papers and visa for Yugoslavia, but that "he should be aware that he would be brought to court in Yugoslavia." He was sure that he would be condemned. Pauljevic agreed to everything.

"As soon as I had the Yugoslav passport in my hands, I said so to the other emigres. They immediately informed the Securitatea. I was no longer afraid of it, because the embassy now knew about me, I had my travel papers, I was a Yugoslav citizen, and that meant: if I disappeared, the embassy would inquire after me. The Securitatea did not want anything to do with the Yugoslav embassy, because that was a period when international relations were 'normalized.' Of course, Rumania was then full of Cominform emigres from Yugoslavia, who roamed around everywhere. I was afraid of them, because they had publicly threatened me with death. I hid, I carried a knife with me, I walked around the streets like a rabbit. It was especially difficult for me to obtain an exit visa from the Rumanian government."

A few days before his departure from Rumania, a high officer of the regular police in Bucharest visited him in his apartment.

"He opened his briefcase and took out some paper. I held a knife hidden beneath the table and carefully watched his every move. He gave me, however, a 'resolution,' which appointed me a 'commissar of the regular police,' in the region of a Rumanian city with 220,000 inhabitants. I remembered seeking employment like that in 1949, but only now did they remember to give it to me. 'Thank you, but I don't want it. I'm going home!' I said. 'Don't you know that you'll be immediately arrested there?' he asked me. 'Yes, but it is my country, and I have hurt it.' The policeman was silent. He put the 'resolution' back into his briefcase and left without saying a word."

/Question/ You have written that during these years of the Cominform many spies from the ranks of the Yugoslav emigres were placed in our country from Rumania. Do you know what happened to them? Did they succeed in their missions?

/Answer/ According to what I learned later, all were caught as soon as they entered into our country and did not return. Only Dragi Moldovan, who did not make use of the contacts and information given him by the Securitatea, but began his own smuggling operation, because that's what he did before the war, returned.

/Question/ Did you see these people in our country after your return from Rumania?

/Answer/ Yes, I saw a few on Goli Otok, and others already before my arrival on Goli Otok had completed their sentence. They all found jobs afterwards. They worked and lived like everyone else. For the most part, all of these people had recognized the horror of the error of the Cominform. Many are today champions of the battle against Stalinism.

/Question/ Did your father, soon after your departure, end up on Goli Otok?

/Answer/ Yes, he told the OZN that he knew about my leaving. He did not want to hide anything. That's the kind of man he is, as solid as I am. He underwent many hardships on Goli Otok, but everything is over now. He now lives at home in Bela Crykva, has a 6700-dinar pension and 93 years under his belt, and is a relatively healthy man.

/Question/ You had many friends in the OZN and in the national government during the period when you emigrated. Do you ever meet with your old comrades? What kind of work do you do now?

/Answer/ I am now a simple pensioner. My second wife is an architect and works the entire day. I generally stay at home, where I take care of the shopping and sometimes prepare lunch, because it is only right that I keep my wife. I also take care of little Katarina, my wife's daughter, a golden little girl, who goes to school. I also write, that's how I spend all my free time. I often see friends from the postwar days. We don't speak about the past, although sometimes a few drops of black humor concerning my emigration are dropped. That's life, what it should be.

/Question/ They say that you haven't drunk a drop of alcohol in 20 years.

/Answer/ That's true. I never even drink beer. But I did drink a lot earlier, too much. Then I suddenly gave up drinking, I cut it out as an evil of life.

/24 Sep 83 pp 13-14/

/Text/ Although he is 69 years old, Slobodan Pauljevic acts like a much younger man. He stands straight, is lively and has a good memory. He jumps for the ringing telephone like a top, cooks coffee and makes sandwiches for his 14-year-old stepdaughter (who comments on what is said and obviously is well-acquainted with her father's biography). His wife asked him over the phone if the reporter had arrived, if he had received him properly and he answered, "Don't worry about that as long as there is some sljivovica." His friend came to "go for a walk in the square." Another came to go for coffee, but Slobodan begged off, "Not now, I'm talking to a reporter, people will read that, I must concentrate a bit more."

He was an emigre in Rumania for 7 years, from December 1948 until the beginning of 1956. He went there as an officer of the OZN, because he believed in the Cominform and Stalin. He was disappointed and sought travel documents from our embassy, which he received with the admonition. "When you return to Yugoslavia, you will be arrested and tried!" "Allright,

let them arrest me. When one has gone downhill, he should go all the way!" He returned to Yugoslavia by train in March 1956 via the border crossing at Vrsac. With him was his wife Vera, who also had illegally crossed this same border with him (and two others from the OZN) in December 1948. Then, he was ready (as were the others with whom he travelled) to fight the border guards--everyone carried cocked pistols and grenades with their safeties turned off. Pauljevic's 5-year-old son, who was born in Rumania (and today is 33 years old and lives in Belgrade), returned with him. Nikola Lalic, a Cominform agent who also was returning home voluntarily, shared the train compartment.

"As soon as the train stopped in Vrsac and other police had looked at the passports, a man dressed in civilian clothing entered into our compartment. I immediately assumed that he was expecting me. He greeted me kindly and after a short introduction added, almost as an aside, 'You will get off a Panveco, we must have a short talk.' He offered us cigarettes and gave my son candy. They let Vera go in Pancevo to accompany our son to our apartment in Belgrade. That was where we had left our other son with Vera's mother when we left for Rumania illegally in 1948, said Pauljevic.

Accompanied by 2 officers of the UDB, Pauljevic and Lalic were taken to a holding station. There, they were separated. Pauljevic stayed in this "house jail" for 2 months. He had a room, a table, typewriter, all the cigarettes he wanted and the task to write about himself, not to forget anything.

He says that he was candid, that he did not hide anything. He wrote a total of 998 pages of text. He said that he had sincerely worked for the Rumanian secret service, the Securitatea, that he attempted with all his might to harm the CPY and "Tito's clique," that he had told the Securitatea all he knew about the OZN, and he knew plenty. He also told them about the JNA and the border. He organized from Rumania a spy service against Yugoslavia. He helped however he could to prepare the uprising of "healthy forces" in Yugoslavia. He said, however, that he was bitterly disappointed in Stalin's policy, although he believed more in Stalin than in God. He was disgusted with the people in the Securitatea who forced him to testify in the staged trials against the Rumanian foreign minister, Ana Pauker and other high Rumanian government functionaries. He refused. He did not know these functionaries, but it was necessary to claim that he knew them well, that they had contact with the OZN and were "Tito's spies." Stalin's death prevented this trial from being held. They jailed Pauljevic in Rumania. They tortured and beat him. After his release from jail in Rumania, he decided to return to his homeland. Before crossing the border into Yugoslavia, Cominform emigres from Yugoslavia threatened to kill him.

From Pancevo Pauljevic was taken to the then Central Prison in Belgrade for interrogation on 12 May 1956. Pauljevic described in a pedantic way the conversation with his interrogator, which was correct. He was given enough food and was put in solitary confinement. Trouble broke out around his cell. One day he met Nebojsa Grebenar, a functionary of the OZN, with whom he had been a friend before en embarked on his path of treason.

"How are you? How is it where they are keeping you?" asked Ljubisa.

"I'm in solitary, and I'm satisfied," Pauljevic replied.

Grebenar received the remark about solitary confinement as the cynicism of the former workmate, turned and left. However, Pauljevic, although by nature a bit cynical and quick to decide, had this time spoken the truth. Indeed, he did not want to stay in a room with criminals, who beat, blackmailed and persecuted "politicals." Cominformists were especially marked. And that which Pauljevic did not want, happened. The following day they took him from solitary and placed him in a room with criminals. They attacked him on the first night. In order to achieve some kind of "respect" in that society, he said that he had committed premeditated murder. Nevertheless, the cell chief, an inveterate criminal, the sole authority in that cell, along with two others, began to beat him, because he did not greet him properly. Then all Hell broke loose. Pauljevic, powerful and agile, beat the "cell chief" to death and broke the noses of the other two. After that he was chosen to be the new "cell chief." He was later left in peace because he had formed "his own group."

"I asked the interrogator what kind of sentence I would receive, and he said if it was given strictly according to the law I could get 100 years. He also added that I even had two conditions for the death penalty. What were they? First, I spied and organized espionage in Rumania against my own country. Second, after leaving for Rumania I also spied for and told the most important secrets to the Russian embassy. I listened to this and said that his second condition was not true, because I only had one meeting with the Russian embassy through the White emigre, Igor Savcenak, to whom I did not tell all. My interrogator replied that it was good that I had returned to pay my debt to society. Besides, they would have killed me in Rumania."

His sincere confession plus the finale which he underwent in Rumania, where they jailed and beat him as "Tito's spy" seemed to have affected the interrogator and he even "polished up" some of Pauljevic's admissions ("I spoke sharply and he toned that down and then made note of it.").

At the end of July 1956 Pauljevic was taken to the district court in Belgrade presided over by a panel of five with Borivoj Petkovic (now retired) as its president. In the court room, besides the judges, prosecutors, defense attorney, two policemen, who, according to official requirements, were to guard him, were present only Pauljevic's relatives, his father (who had been released in the meantime from Goli Otok), mother, wife and two small children. In one corner of the court room sat a man with an intelligent face, who constantly kept silent and took notes. Later, he learned that that man was from the UDB and had been given the mission to personally inform Rankovic and Brajnik about everything that went on in the trial. Already he had received the impression that the UDB had facts about his hostile position to the Securitatea when he had recognized that the Stalinists had "disappointed" him.

"The prosecutor began to question me and I told him, 'Don't exert yourself, I will speak for myself.' And my attorney generally remained silent. If he said anything, it was against me and I told him, 'Don't play around with me!' I felt miserable during the trial. I had hardly escaped with my life from the Securitatea and Cominform in Rumania, which wanted to kill me before I left, and now I was again in court. It seemed to me that few cared about my resistance to the Securitatea."

He was condemned to 5 years in prison, although he expected much more. He said that he would not appeal, but he did complain about "my horrible defense attorney," and in a second trial on 4 December 1956, he was condemned to 3 years by the same court. He spent the entire time during his trial in the Central Prison, in a room with criminals, who several times at night tried to smother him with blankets and to beat him. He fought back. The law of the strongest ruled there.

After the trial, he was taken to the large Zabela prison near Pozarevac. The warden there was Voja Nikitic, his friend from the OZN, who had helped him to become the chief of the criminal section. Pauljevic says that Nikitic did not dare do anything himself, because behind him stood a higher-up. Pauljevic suspects that "higher-up" was one of Rankovic's deputies, who had followed the work of the emigres in Rumania. Pauljevic, however, was different from the other Cominformists in Rumania.

It was better for him in Zabela than in Belgrade's Central Prison. He had something to do and the days went by more quickly. He was quartered with other "politicals." But one day this "Zabela idyll" ended. Orders had arrived from Belgrade that Pauljevic must be moved to Goli Otok. That was the place for Cominform spies.

The prison routine was strict in Zabela. The majority of inmates were hardened criminals and murderers. There were also chetniks, Ljotic supporters and the wretched "milder" Cominformists there. However, before leaving for Goli Otok some people told Pauljevic that he would "meet his own God there." No one among the inmates of Zabela knew precisely where Goli Otok was, but stories had circulated around the prison that it was "horrible" there.

From Zabela they took him to Sremska Mitrovica, where he spent several days, because they were taking some Cominformists from there to Goli Otok. From the first Pauljevic had mastered the trick of how to open the "peep hole," through which the guards observed the prisoners, from the outside, and one evening he saw through this opening into the open door of the solitary confinement cell across from his own. It was different from his own. Inside was a table, armchair, books, a carpet, good lighting. It was extremely comfortable and received its own food. Whenever the other prisoners were taken outside for exercise, that cell was closed. On the third day Pauljevic saw Milovan Djilas through the peep hole as he was entering the cell after a walk. He said he envied Djilas, because Djilas was "enjoying" prison.



In October 1957, together with 7 other Cominformists, Pauljevic, guarded by military police, was transferred by train from Sremska Mitrovica to Bakar, and from there to Goli Otok by boat. It was an eventless journey. The boat was called by the inmates of Goli Otok, the "death box" or something like that in whose bowels the prison guards transported the inmates. At night people were simply thrown into an empty, dark cell. Sometimes it happened that the prisoners were arranged so that they fell on top of each other.

Sometime after midnight the "death box" set out for Goli Otok, where after much tossing and rolling due to a storm, it arrived at dawn.

"Fearful, we came out into the light of day and disembarked in silence. We knew that all the newcomers would have to pass through a gauntlet of prisoners a hundred meters long and that they would beat the newcomers with all their might. The harder one hit, the more positive points he would receive. But to our surprise, there was no gauntlet (which the inmates call the 'hot rabbit'). Instead, I heard, 'Where did you come from, Brko?' I turned around and saw Rudi Filej, a one-time high functionary of the OZN in Slovenia, with whom I became acquainted when I worked in the federal OZN. He too was a prisoner."

Rudi Filej (now retired, living in Maribor) was the monitor in charge of the workshop within the prison's grounds. That first day, before the prison administration has assigned all the newcomers to their stations, he had succeeded in talking with Pauljevic, who as well as others, spent the first 3 days in quarantine. Filej had been sentenced to 14 years (he served only 4). When he was brought to Goli Otok, he had to go through the "hot rabbit." As soon as he felt the first blow, he began to resist. He struck back at those who hit him, but the other inmates attacked and beat him into unconsciousness. He was completely broken.

Pauljevic's father (who is today 93 years old and lives in Bela Crkva), who in 1948 admitted that his son had told him in advance of his escape across the border, was on Goli Otok for 2 years. Later, he told his son that he had barely survived the "hot rabbit." The inmate's routine while Pauljevic's father was there was very difficult. One had to spend the entire day in the scorching sun on the shadeless rocks mindlessly moving rocks from one spot to another. There was very little water, the food was bad and one could be beaten for the slightest trifle, with clubs or forced to stand in the sun until he fell unconscious.

The prison routine on Goli Otok at the beginning of 1957 was considerably milder. Indeed, a system prevailed where the armed guards and prison administration stood outside the prison grounds, which were enclosed by a three-meter high barbed wire fence. The inmates had the "authority," and the managing positions were held by those who had recanted the most from their Cominformist mistakes. It was rare for the armed guards to have to enter the camp in order to restore order.

Pauljevic describes Goli Otok a big rock, a few thousand meters long and wide. Even before the first prisoner had arrived, there was not a single blade of grass on it. Only crevices in the limestone. Water was brought from Rab, because the administration of the penal-correctional facility was there. The island's coastline was very steep, except for one side which served as the boat harbor. The first prisoners brought soil to the island and planted some grass and bushes, which had a hard time surviving because of the shortage of water. Later, they placed wire all about, erected guard towers and other objects. Stone plateaus were made in the crevices reached by stairs. Two pavillions were on each plateau for a total of 14 pavillions, in which the prisoners were packed like sardines.

Goli Otok at the time of Pauljevic's arrival was, as Filej had told him, "a real sanatorium," given what has happened there between 1949 and sometime before 1955, when the Cominformists themselves were there. During Pauljevic's stay on Goli Otok, mainly "two- and three-engine airplane" Cominformists, as the prisoners called those who were released and then rearrested because of their "activities in return," were on the island. Cominformists who had returned as emigres from the socialist countries were also there, as were 100 old-timers, who had stubbornly retained their old views. Otherwise, Pauljevic says that most inmates were condemned to long sentences, but the majority were released after serving only a third of their terms.

At the end of October 1957 most inmates on Goli Otok were young adults and older minors, who had committed serious criminal acts. Among these youths were many hardened delinquents, condemned mostly for murder and violent crimes. They were always ready to "knock off" somebody as soon as they had turned their back. Out of a total of 500 inmates, 100 were Cominformists, 50 Ustashe, chetniks and others of that ilk, and the rest were young.

"In a report I saw that the chief warden of Goli Otok was Vojo Djurovic, a colonel of the OZN. I knew him well. He recognized me and arranged for me to organize the administration of the 'politicals.'" I was also to set up the surveillance service in the two criminal pavillions. I agreed to the part about the criminals, but I did not want to work with the 'politicals.' He understood and did not attempt to make me inform on others. How was life there? Listen, it was a prison and it was strict. The summer was the worst because of the sun, which was boiling. The food was good enough. Sometimes, we were even given a clove of garlic for vitamins. It was tough with the criminals, because they felt they were more honorable than we were. There were also difficult situations."

He was sentenced on 4 December 1956 to 3 years of prison, and was released on 29 November 1958, hence after not quite 2 years. There were practically no more "politicals" on Goli Otok after 1958. It remained a prison for older minors, which it chiefly is today.

"When I was released, I received a paper overnight case, clothes and some money, which I had earned in 2 years' service in prison. It was

enough for me to buy a train ticket to Bela Crkva. I reported to the UDB in Bela Crkva and went to work gathering medicinal herbs. I couldn't remain in that area for long, however, because some people would accuse me of being a Russian spy who 'killed a hundred Serbs in Rumania.' I remember spending days with my father, talking about Goli Otok. They finally allowed me to leave Bela Crkva for Belgrade, where my wife, Vera, worked for the Jeza print shop (they were later divorced /ed/). I got a job with the municipal water service, where I earned my present pension of 11,000 dinars. I also sought recognition from the Rumanian government that they owed me for 7 years of labor. They, however, ignored my request. I wrote them again, but they remained silent. I then wrote the United Nations, which agreed that I was in the right."

/Question/ What would you now say, in short, about all that which you have experienced between 1948 and 1958? How do you see the actions against the Cominformists? How do you feel today?

/Answer/ I could write a novel about that, I did write about that in "Suocavanja." But, in short, they had to isolate us in 1948 and later, because a civil war was begun then, which was worse than in Korea. I can justify this isolation, but not the methods of "reeducation" on Goli Otok, which only showed that we had yet to fully break with those methods which Stalin used, against which we had really fought. And today? I was isolated. But now, I can write, I go out with friends with whom I worked before my flight. We talk. After the battle it's easy to be a general.

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SLOVENIAN MEETING DISCUSSES FALSIFIERS OF HISTORY

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8-9 Oct 83 p 13

[Article by Zoran Medved: "Who Has Trouble With the Battle on the Neretva?"]

[Text] Last week, at the time when the previous issue of NEDELJNA BORBA had already been put to bed, the Council of the Marxist Center of the Slovenian LC Central Committee held its fifth meeting, at which the center's work plans for the coming year were adopted. In the discussion of the proposed plans there were also several very notable statements made which we are passing on because of their unquestionable topicality.

At the very outset Professor Bozidar Debenjak rose and put the question of the attitude of the League of Communists toward intellectuals in its own ranks. Debenjak felt that this question had to be put in the framework of examination of the role of Marxism at the present moment in our society, when political sophistication is at a low level. "We find ourselves in a situation where semidissidence pays off. Such a posture receives both material support and rewards. We find ourselves in a time when the political right is evidently on the offensive. Our achievements are being attacked from bourgeois positions. We have examples of this in the analysis of the behavior of the League of Communists before the Cominform Resolution. And then the argument is presented that the CPY was unpatriotic before 1936, since it asserted that the Yugoslavia created at the Versailles Conference should be broken up and was anticommunist. And those are theses advocated by a member of the LC. In such a situation can the party stand aloof from its intellectuals," Debenjak asked. He cited as an example of semidissidence the position of Tine Hribar, editor in chief of NOVA REVIJA, who, according to Debenjak, had proven his anticommunism in a number of articles in that review, yet he is a member of the LC and is even writing a preface to one of the books which will soon be published by the Komunist Publishing House. According to Debenjak, "on grounds of moral hygiene the LC cannot set up authors of that stamp as its own." We need to add at this point that at his insistence the members of the council returned at the end of the discussion to the question of this preface and that they were of the opposite opinion. That is, the view prevailed that an article cannot be judged on the basis of who wrote it, but rather what it contains, what sort of ideas it conveys.

## A Drama of Emotions

Lev Kreft also issued a warning that the atmosphere in which we see in society serious theoretical and political discussions of late is not a good one. "In the Marxist Center we must especially avoid an emotional tone in discussions which frustrate serious theoretical debate. There are quite a few examples of things like this. Let me remind you only of the discussion of the Language Jury, NOVA REVIJA, and the curriculum nuclei. These were cases when the tone of the discussion reached a nervous pitch which frustrates theoretical discussion. We must undramatize this through patient and persistent activity," Kreft emphasized. According to him, there are today two points on which opponents of the policy of the LC are constructing their criticism and at which it even appears that they are right in that kind of criticism. It thus even happens that those people who are profoundly on the line of the LC fall into that current, since a nervous climate of discussion has been created. On the one hand there are remarks against statism, and they hit home with members of the LC. That is, they are compelled to play the role of censor and apologist of a system whenever they stand opposed to criticism of that kind. The second point is the issue of the nonethnic nature of the LC, the parading around with banners attesting that a culture or nationality is in jeopardy. At these points the wind should be taken out of the sails of such attacks. We can do this by opposing the administrative approach more consistently and by adopting a clearer stand concerning the Slovenian people's development. I think that we have good historical foundations for that conflict, though sometimes we let them slip from our hands," Kreft said and added, "that this is where it should be shown that the responses to such attacks are not the confused reactions of individuals, but the action of a collective intellectual."

"At one time we were very sensitive when things were published by certain nonhistorians with whose views we did not agree," was the idea with which Janko Pletevski began his statement. "Now we note that somewhat the same thing is being published by historians. In Yugoslavia today there is a rising wave of revisionism, which has various aspects, one of which is the publication of various works of history. I cannot escape the impression that we are dealing here only with semidissidence and with individuals. This is a broader and more comprehensive action. I think that one such example is the book by Branko Petranovic "Revolucija i kontrarevolucija u Jugoslaviji od 1941-1945" [Revolution and Counterrevolution in Yugoslavia 1941-1945]. Today the question of the continuity of the Yugoslav state is a modern issue. Why are some arguing that that continuity, as far as the system is concerned, existed? This is a question which attempts to discredit the role of the LC in the revolution. This is the thesis that in 1941 Yugoslav society had two realistic ways before it: the bourgeois and the communist. It then turns out that the wartime climate was a suitable climate for the communists to usurp power.

"The second example is the battle on the Neretva. In the assessments of that battle there are attempts to disqualify the leadership there and to portray the battle itself as militarily insignificant. Then there is also the time of the postwar period. The system of people's democracy is now being put

forward as an alien construct which was imposed upon us. For that reason I think that the section for journalism might put the question of book reviews on the agenda. There are times when the publishers of such works seek reviewers from the other republics so as to give Yugoslav legitimacy to their works. At one time they used to send books to me for review, but since I criticized them, they do not send them to me anymore."

#### More Frequent Forgeries

Miha Likar called attention to the increasingly frequent falsifications appearing in our reviews. He took as an example a falsification related to Hofman's book "Noc do jutra" [Night to Morning], which was published in NOVA REVIJA. "However, the weakest arguments for criticism are something that I will call, forgive my language, Suvar-oni," Likar said. "What I have read recently is exploitation. He has accused our writers of opposing the joint curriculum nuclei because they themselves want to be studied in school."

In his concluding remarks in the discussion of the programs Milan Kucan dwelled mainly on the role of the party in the political system, making the critical assertion: "In many areas we have suddenly found ourselves on the defensive. The League of Communists, as it is said, has begun to change from a party representing a movement to a party representing the established order. No sort of obfuscation about a party with 2 million members should be allowed to stand in the way of discussion of this issue. Members of the party must be united about the kind of crisis we find ourselves in. That crisis is one of statist relations. This conflict has been going on since back in 1952 and testifies to its resilience. That duality, which is alive in every one of us, is a fact. When a man must decide on a change of relations in a way that has not been verified, we prefer to decide in favor of what has been verified, regardless of whether that is the way of statism. And that is the direction which is often adopted even by the League of Communists. Various groups are diverting our attention elsewhere, but this is the main front."

"When we speak about the prospects for material development and the political system, we do have a program. But the difficulties arise when it is to be applied. Our administration is capable of devising only statist solutions. Has the League of Communists taken note of this in good time? In everyday political activity we have forgotten the communist vision of society. We have begun to lose sight of the criteria for evaluating things. We have not had such analyses since we lost Kardelj. Who, say, can figure today as the vehicle of social changes? And is it someone who is satisfied with his position in society?"

At the end of the discussion those present took note that there is in the public a rather clear demand for issues of this kind to be responded to as definitively as possible. By its contribution, in an open and sober theoretical discussion, the League of Communists can help quite a bit here.

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